

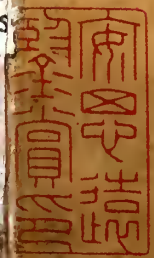


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*Brushing the Past*

Later Chinese Calligraphy from the Gift of Robert Hatfield Ellsworth

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*Brushing the Past*

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Chang, Joseph

# *Brushing the Past*

Later Chinese Calligraphy from the Gift of Robert Hatfield Ellsworth

JOSEPH CHANG

THOMAS LAWTON

STEPHEN D. ALLEE

Freer Gallery of Art | Smithsonian Institution | Washington, D.C.

**Freer Gallery of Art**

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# Foreword

Changes await all American cultural institutions at the beginning of the twenty-first century, and art museums in particular are undergoing transformations of the most fundamental kind. Yet while the shape and tenor of museum collections, exhibitions, research, and public programs will evolve in ways difficult to predict, two constants in the history of museums will remain of fundamental importance: the pursuit of knowledge and the generosity of individuals.

Ideally each inspires and drives the other, setting in motion a process that ultimately advances awareness and understanding, the goal of any institution concerned with the history of knowledge, whether visual or something else. This short, dynamic cycle constitutes the lifeblood of all great art museums, and the Freer Gallery of Art is no exception. With the vision and gifts of its founder, Charles Lang Freer, as a foundation, the Freer Gallery has historically struck its own distinctive, even idiosyncratic, course in the exploration of Asia's staggeringly complex art history. Now the gallery celebrates yet another notable and far-reaching gift, a major collection of later Chinese calligraphy from Robert Hatfield Ellsworth.

The Freer Gallery of Art observed its seventy-fifth anniversary in 1998. In honor of that occasion, Ellsworth generously gave the gallery two gifts of calligraphy, one in 1997 and the other in 1998. Together they comprise 260 works of calligraphy by 175 artists, along with 19 attached paintings by 16 artists. These works quadruple the museum's holdings of Chinese calligraphy. Before the Freer Gallery received this gift, independent works of Chinese calligraphy in the collection dated mainly to the seventeenth century or earlier. With dated works ranging from 1789 to 1985, the Ellsworth collection represents all the major trends in Chinese calligraphy and most of the important individual artists of the last two hundred years. By the standard of any museum, this gift is of unusual importance.

In 1998 Ellsworth also facilitated the acquisition of an important selection of works by the eccentric monk-painter Bada Shanren (1626–1705). From the collection of the late Wang Fangyu and his wife, Sum Wai, the works include seventeen independent examples of the artist's calligraphy.



With the addition of these exceptional collections, the Freer Gallery of Art now ranks among the largest repositories of Chinese calligraphy in the United States. It is one of the few centers in the West for the comprehensive study of this fascinating and quintessentially Chinese art form.

This book features twenty works from the Ellsworth gift. The authors—Joseph Chang, Thomas Lawton, and Stephen D. Allee—have placed the importance of the collection in proper perspective. Not only do they explore in depth the two major currents of nineteenth-century Chinese calligraphy, they also trace several of the great nineteenth-century Chinese collectors who exerted a strong influence on the direction of calligraphy and explain how the Ellsworth collection relates to earlier practices of collecting Chinese art in the West. In addition, they securely situate each artist in his own time and stylistic tradition and each work within the artist's oeuvre. With extensively annotated entries and translations, this book clearly represents substantial new research and scholarship.

Slowly becoming better understood by scholars is the crucial role played throughout East Asia by the Chinese language and its many written forms. This new gift of calligraphy presents rich research possibilities, of course, as well as opportunities for the curatorial staff to exhibit and interpret various aspects of the tradition of calligraphy in the coming years. Since the Freer Gallery of Art and the Arthur M. Sackler Gallery together form the national museum of Asian art for the United States, one of our fundamental responsibilities is to find ways to demystify and make accessible the more difficult aspects of Chinese culture—and calligraphy must be placed in this category, at least for non-Chinese viewers. I have no doubt that future generations will view the Ellsworth gift as one that inspired and changed our notions of how to begin understanding Chinese calligraphy from across cultural divides. It is a challenge we gladly and gratefully accept from Robert Ellsworth.

Milo Cleveland Beach

Director

Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery



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## *Preface*

My efforts to assemble a collection of nineteenth- and twentieth-century Chinese calligraphy began in 1949. Wang Fangyu, my professor of Chinese language who would become a lifelong friend, supplied many of the answers to my questions about calligraphy. Without his generous assistance I would have stumbled along for many years before refining my understanding of this aspect of Chinese culture. The final polish to my collection came from Lawrence Wu, a friend whose opinion and knowledge I could trust. He provided translations and identifications for the calligraphy, including all the seals of both artists and collectors.

During the half century I have devoted to this collection, the legion of friends and colleagues who have helped me is too numerous to mention. However, my closest Chinese friend, Hei Hunglu, with whom I traveled in China over many years, warrants special recognition. Hunglu was both my interpreter and translator, and his knowledge of Chinese history and literature was invaluable in clarifying the subject matter of the calligraphy. His unstinting efforts enabled me to assemble a collection of unanticipated scope.

Hunglu and I first visited China together in 1979 at the invitation of the government. At that time, the government had become the owner of goods, including works of art, confiscated during the calamitous events of the Cultural Revolution, and officials were starting to empty the warehouses. In subsequent years, we traveled through most of China. All the shops were operated by the government and came under the control of Beijing Arts and Crafts, and through that connection we knew where to go and whom to see about later Chinese paintings and calligraphy. Hunglu was the perfect traveling companion—there was no competition between us. He purchased furniture and I purchased nineteenth- and twentieth-century paintings and calligraphy.

In 1982 I organized the first Chinese government sale of later Chinese paintings at Christie's in New York. Although quite successful, it required much more work than Beijing Arts and Crafts officials had anticipated because of ever-changing export and monetary regulations. At this particular time, all the material in Chinese

warehouses was being sorted into lots and designated as being suitable or not for export, but Chinese officials had barely reached the later material in which I was interested. Therefore I was able to purchase many items that most likely would not have been allowed to leave China ten years later.

The next most helpful move in the formation of my collection came when Chinese leader Deng Xiaoping decided that there should be a bonus system for employees of government-owned shops and printing companies that possessed this type of painting and calligraphy. Employees who sold more would receive a higher bonus. As a result, a great deal of later Chinese paintings and calligraphy circulated in the outlets throughout China, as well as in their branches in Hong Kong.

By the late 1980s, Hunglu and I were on friendly terms with almost every gallery in China and Hong Kong that handled paintings and calligraphy, and they would save items that they thought I might be interested in. At that time, I was making at least two or three trips a year to East Asia.

A major stroke of luck was the decision by Chinese officials that Liulichang, the ancient center of antique dealers in Beijing, should be rebuilt, as it was—and still is—one of Beijing's major tourist attractions. Hunglu and I were approached to see whether I had any interest in acquiring a large quantity of nineteenth- and twentieth-century calligraphy, which by this point had become almost an obsession with me. It was clear that the officials hoped to sell enough to raise the funds needed to rebuild one or two of the major Liulichang painting galleries. I availed myself of this opportunity, and Hunglu and I spent days sorting, thereby accumulating an almost complete run of works by minor or obscure calligraphers, as well as by major scholar-calligraphers, from the period of my interest.

A combination of personal circumstances and historical events, including the upheaval of the Cultural Revolution, made possible this collection of later Chinese paintings and calligraphy. After I had published my collection, it became evident to me that the individual works should not sit idly in my vault, where they could not be properly appreciated or made available for study. It seemed to me that the Freer Gallery of Art had the best facilities to care for and display my collection.

Recognized as an international center for the study and preservation of Asian antiquities, the Freer Gallery has a registrar and three full-time museum specialists who work closely with the

curatorial staff to oversee the collections, which are housed in newly renovated facilities. Within the storage areas, which encompass 13,000 square feet, the temperature and humidity are carefully controlled. Separate facilities for painting and calligraphy, ceramics, sculpture, bronzes, jades, and metalwork permit each area, when appropriate, to function as a classroom. Because of that unusual degree of flexibility, individual scholars or groups of students are able to pursue research while having immediate access to the gallery's collections. Information about every object in the collections—including dimensions and condition, comments by curators, conservators, and visiting specialists, and a bibliography—is readily available to staff and visitors.

Ever since the Freer Gallery opened in 1923, it has maintained conservation facilities that include a fully equipped studio specializing in the repair of Asian handscrolls, hanging scrolls, and screens. In fact, the gallery had special cabinets constructed specifically to store my collection. All in all, I think these paintings and calligraphy have found a happy home.

Robert Hatfield Ellsworth

# *Acknowledgments*

In March 1997 Robert Ellsworth asked if I thought the Freer Gallery of Art would be interested in receiving his collection of later Chinese calligraphy as a gift. I immediately assured him that I would be delighted to present such a proposal to Milo C. Beach, director of the Freer Gallery, who enthusiastically supported this prospective gift. A few months later, Ellsworth granted me the liberty of selecting 48 works of Chinese calligraphy from his collection. The following year, he donated the remainder of his calligraphy collection—212 works—as well as 19 attached paintings. Both gifts commemorated the seventy-fifth anniversary of the Freer Gallery in 1998. Through Ellsworth's exceptional generosity, the gallery is now one of the largest repositories of Chinese calligraphy in the United States, and it is the only one with such extensive holdings from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Shortly after the Freer Gallery received this remarkable collection, my colleagues and I began exploring ways to make it accessible to both scholars and museum visitors. This book, along with a related exhibition, is one of the initial efforts. Although the twenty selected works are only a small part of the Ellsworth gift, they represent the major trends in later Chinese calligraphy.

In preparing the book, I have been extremely fortunate to collaborate with two colleagues at the Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery: Thomas Lawton, former director of the Freer and Sackler Galleries, and Stephen D. Allee, research specialist. Lawton is one of the finest scholars in the field and undoubtedly its best biographer of important connoisseurs and collectors of Chinese art. His detailed and fascinating account of Ellsworth's life adds a lively contemporary facet to this scholarly book. Allee's rigorous professional training in Chinese literature and his passion for Chinese calligraphy and painting are clearly evident in his annotated catalogue text and translations, which together make a substantial contribution to scholarship in the field.

This book would not have been possible without the skill and dedication of the Publications Department. Karen Sagstetter, head of the department, oversaw the entire project with unflagging

persistence. Dean Trackman's thoughtful editing and gentle manner not only refined the content of this book but also made the experience a pleasant one to remember. Virginia Ibarra-Garza, graphic designer, found the beauty in the twin arts of calligraphy and seal carving, and with abundant creativity and talent, she transformed this modest book into a truly remarkable publication.

In so capably managing a multitude of tasks related to bringing the Ellsworth gift into the Freer Gallery's collections and producing the book and exhibition, my colleagues throughout the museum—in Collections Management, Conservation and Scientific Research, Photography, Development, Design and Installation, Education, and Public Affairs—deserve my deepest gratitude. I owe a special thanks to the following individuals: Gu Xiangmei, restoration specialist, remounted three works for the exhibition with her usual skill and care; John Tsantes, head of the Photography Department, beautifully photographed the works of calligraphy in this book; Veronica de Jong, a devoted student of Chinese calligraphy who is currently studying at the University of Kansas, volunteered to help prepare the initial files for many of the works in the collection; Ingrid Larsen, research specialist, helped enter the Chinese characters in the manuscript; and Carol Huh, secretary, efficiently handled numerous administrative aspects of the project.

My final thanks go to Director Milo Beach and Deputy Director Thomas W. Lentz for their support, encouragement, and understanding during the entire project.

Joseph Chang  
Associate Curator of Chinese Art  
Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery

五十年來



*Robert Hatfield Ellsworth:  
Extravagant Charisma and  
Burnished Eye*

**Thomas Lawton**

Eminent art collectors usually have a keen sense of inquiry, ample financial resources, and, most important of all, close relationships with discerning art dealers. Anyone familiar with the dynamics of buying and selling antiquities realizes that the most reliable art dealers possess the courage and confidence of high-wire acrobats. They also have a remarkable degree of expertise, and their sensitivity in matters of connoisseurship frequently surpasses that of museum curators. It is no secret that the judgments of many curators are based on information or references provided by art dealers. Moreover, art dealers offer their services without the benefit of the security and prestige of an established cultural institution. In other words, art dealers take the greatest risks and receive the least acclaim.

The rare individuals who achieve distinction as both art dealers and art collectors are truly exceptional. Robert Hatfield Ellsworth (fig. 1) is a member of that select group. In response to the question of whether he is a dealer or a collector, Ellsworth has quipped, “Some think I should class myself as a collector who deals,”<sup>1</sup> and, more succinctly, “I deal only to collect.”<sup>2</sup> Ellsworth has been active on the Asian art scene as a dealer and collector for so long that it is

difficult to imagine how fellow specialists would manage without him. The unusual circumstances of his early training and the varied backgrounds of the people who played key roles in his career enable Ellsworth to speak with firsthand knowledge about the pioneering Asian art specialists in the United States. No one else remembers the foibles of those remarkable individuals or can relate specific events with an equal command of myriad details. To cite one example, his sympathetic descriptions of the charming if somewhat implausible American women who operated antique shops in Beijing during the early decades of the twentieth century have delighted his close friends for years.<sup>3</sup>

One colleague has written perceptively of Ellsworth's "extravagant charisma and burnished eye,"<sup>4</sup> and his reputation as a connoisseur and a businessman has prompted critics to refer to him as "an American mandarin," "the Duveen of Oriental art,"<sup>5</sup> and "the King of Ming."<sup>6</sup> He himself has said, "I think I've always been a gambler and I like big odds."<sup>7</sup> In retrospect, it seems obvious that fate must have decreed that Ellsworth should pursue a career as an art dealer and collector.

Ellsworth was born in New York City on July 13, 1929. His mother, LaFerne Hatfield Ellsworth (1900–1976), was a contralto soprano who performed with the Chicago Civic Opera. His father, Presley Elmer Ellsworth (1893–1957), was a distinguished dental surgeon who taught at the New York School of Dentistry. Ellsworth has acknowledged the artistic and scientific accomplishments of his parents with characteristic generosity—or, in keeping with Asian traditions, with an appropriate display of filial piety. He donated Chinese antiquities to the Metropolitan Museum of Art<sup>8</sup> and the Yale University Art Gallery in memory of his mother, and he provided funds to establish a research chair at the New York School of Dentistry in honor of his father.

Ellsworth, according to his own account, began collecting at an unusually early age. After his mother died, Ellsworth found among her belongings a set of cheap glass eggcups that he had rescued from a garbage pail when he was six years old. "I have always been addicted to accumulating," he recalled. "When I was four and couldn't be found, my mother knew exactly where to look. She headed straight for the neighborhood trash bins, where I would be rummaging for treasure."<sup>9</sup> Although Ellsworth shrugs off his early efforts with the comment "All kids collect," he is quick to describe his childhood interest in China: "Nobody wanted Chinese postage stamps in those days. They were the most fascinating and the

Page 14: Detail from a collector seal  
of Robert Hatfield Ellsworth (*An Siyuan  
zhencang* 卮).



Fig. 1. Robert H. Ellsworth in his New York City apartment, 1993. Photograph by Joanne Savio.

cheapest.” From stamps he progressed to Chinese snuff bottles. At the age of nineteen, Ellsworth arranged to have a dealer sell his collection of snuff bottles to the Montreal Museum.<sup>10</sup> He had launched his career.

While attending high school, Ellsworth augmented his classroom education by becoming a runner—that is, he found objects in secondhand shops that he could resell at a profit to antique dealers who catered to a particular clientele. The lure of more specialized education prompted Ellsworth to leave high school after his sophomore year. He studied architecture at the Franklin School of Professional Arts in New York and traveled to Switzerland for further training in Bern and Lausanne. Although there is a touch of pride in Ellsworth’s references to his international education, he is quick to admit that while supposedly attending classes in Switzerland, he actually spent most of his time painting. His paintings received positive critical attention, and for several years, Ellsworth supported himself and his passion for antiques by selling his canvases. Here again, he dismisses that aspect of his career: “I was pretty good, but always the proverbial square peg in a round hole. . . . I was never abstract or nonobjective enough, painting in a kind of Cubist-Structural vocabulary with a palette knife. . . . But it didn’t take me long to realize that although I wasn’t a bad painter, I was not going to contribute something special. . . . You have to believe you’re contributing something to be a painter—or anything else for that matter. Maybe it’s ego, but you have to set standards—and I knew I would never be among the very best. What I *did* feel intuitively was another special talent, an ability to know the exceptional object when I see it.”<sup>11</sup> Today Ellsworth modestly hangs a few of his own paintings in the kitchen and bathrooms of his New York apartment.<sup>12</sup>

After Ellsworth returned from Europe in 1948, he was hired by Frank Stoner, a family friend and a partner in Stoner and Evans, a firm with branches in New York and London that specialized in English and German ceramics. One day while prowling around a Manhattan thrift shop, Ellsworth bought a Chinese vase for eight dollars. With considerable pride, he showed it to Stoner, asserting, “It’s Ming.” To obtain a reliable reaction to what he regarded as an overly optimistic attribution by his young apprentice, Stoner sent Ellsworth to Alice Boney (1901–1989), an astute art dealer and an elegant lady.<sup>13</sup> She quickly verified the date of the Chinese vase.

The meeting between Ellsworth and Boney resulted in a close friendship and a professional collaboration that endured for four

decades. Boney was impressed that Ellsworth had recognized the date of the Chinese vase and took him under her wing. She taught him about Chinese porcelain, furniture, and painting in the most practical way. Boney had him look at objects in her collection and then sent him to find comparable examples in antique shops. Ellsworth still retains a memento of their first meeting; the Ming dynasty vase occupies a special place in his personal collection.

Boney was born in Philadelphia. She was orphaned while still very young, but a substantial inheritance enabled her to enjoy a sheltered childhood and receive a good education. Her long, successful career began in 1924 when she married Jan Kleykamp (died 1952), whom she had met in New York. Kleykamp's mother was a well-known Dutch art dealer.

On their honeymoon, Boney and Kleykamp visited all the great museums in Europe. Boney was especially drawn to the Chinese objects. "I just liked what I saw," she said. The young couple returned to New York with a collection of Chinese tomb figurines, which they exhibited together with Chinese ceramics, paintings, and sculpture in their new gallery at 5 East 54th Street.

The financial collapse of 1929, the year Ellsworth was born, had a devastating effect on the antique market, and in 1931 Boney and Kleykamp closed their shop and began selling antiques from their apartment at 113 East 61st Street. Several years later, after Boney and her husband had separated, she assumed responsibility for all aspects of the business. She continued to display Asian antiques in the elegant surroundings of her apartment, where potential clients could appreciate the works while being entertained as guests by their incomparable hostess. There was never the slightest hint of a commercial transaction. It was an ingenious marketing technique that Ellsworth would eventually elevate to a high art.

Relatively few Asian specialists worked in the United States when Boney embarked on her solo career, and she admitted ruefully that she learned "through trial and error." To begin acquiring a better understanding Asia and its cultures, she traveled to Japan in 1958. Surprising everyone—including herself—she stayed on until 1974, working as an art dealer and becoming friends with Japanese collectors and dealers.

Boney drew on all of her expertise as she helped Ellsworth hone his understanding of Chinese and Japanese art. She also encouraged him to study antiquities from India, Cambodia, and Thailand. The breadth of her interests and her knowledge of Asian cultures were remarkable, and many years later Ellsworth assessed



Fig. 2. Alan Priest (1898–1969), ca. 1950.  
Courtesy of Robert H. Ellsworth.

Boney's accomplishments in his inimitable way: "She stands up better than anyone else, and her batting average is impressive."<sup>14</sup>

Perhaps Boney was so sympathetic to the precocious Ellsworth because she, too, was self-taught. Boney once said she recognized immediately that Ellsworth had an eye for art, so she agreed to take him on, noting, "Otherwise I wouldn't have bothered, because I had tried other people and it was impossible." Nonetheless, it was an extremely generous thing for someone in her position to do. "She was training the competition," Ellsworth observed.<sup>15</sup> Ellsworth's own legendary generosity might also have been prompted, at least in part, by Boney's friendship when he was still a teenage aspiring collector. In 1982 Ellsworth donated several objects to the Yale University Art Gallery in her honor.

Boney introduced Ellsworth to her friends in the Asian art field, including Alan Priest (1898–1969), curator of Far Eastern art at the Metropolitan Museum of Art (fig. 2).<sup>16</sup> Here again, Ellsworth found a generous and knowledgeable, albeit eccentric, teacher who would exert great influence on his career. Priest was described by his colleagues as "witty, urbane and scholarly . . . fiery, independent and flamboyant . . . an independently sloppy dresser."<sup>17</sup> He joined the staff at the Metropolitan Museum in 1928, succeeding Sigisbert Chrétien Bosch Reitz (born 1860), a Dutch scholar who had been named the museum's first curator of Far Eastern art in 1916.

Priest belonged to the second generation of American scholars who were pioneers in Asian art connoisseurship in the West. As an undergraduate at Harvard University, Priest specialized in Far Eastern art. Following his graduation in 1920, he remained at Harvard for graduate study with Langdon Warner (1881–1955), who had begun teaching at the university in 1912.

Warner was the first person to offer formal courses in Asian art at any American university. For a decade beginning in 1923, he was a research fellow at Harvard's Fogg Museum, where he trained a generation of specialists in Asian art. During the 1920s Warner led two expeditions in China sponsored by the Fogg Museum. On the first expedition, from 1923 to 1924, Warner obtained several wall paintings from Dunhuang in northwestern China and a seated Bodhisattva that are now in Harvard's Arthur M. Sackler Museum.<sup>18</sup>

From 1922 to 1924 Priest was an assistant tutor and lecturer in the fine arts department at Harvard. The following year he was appointed a member of the Second Fogg Expedition to China,

which, like the first expedition, traveled to Dunhuang.<sup>19</sup> It was a long, arduous journey, portions of which were done on foot. While in China in 1925, Priest was appointed a Carnegie fellow at Harvard University, allowing him to conduct research on Beijing temples and the palaces of the Forbidden City. The following year he received a Sachs Fellowship from Harvard to continue his work in Beijing. During that period he became a Buddhist abbot at the Jietaisi, a temple in the hills outside Beijing, where he had a funeral stele carved for himself. After returning to the United States, Priest shocked some Fitchburg, Massachusetts, residents when he attended his mother's funeral wearing the formal regalia of a Chinese abbot, but a close family friend remarked quietly that his mother would have been delighted by the spectacle.

Priest's special affinity for Far Eastern sculpture is reflected in the Metropolitan Museum's impressive holdings, which he played a major role in acquiring and which he recorded in an idiosyncratic study.<sup>20</sup> Priest also devoted considerable attention to the museum's Far Eastern textiles. The high point of his exhibitions of Chinese costumes occurred in 1945, when, with characteristic flamboyance and flair for the spectacular, Priest displayed the famous Hundred Crane robe on a gilded human skeleton.<sup>21</sup>

For an impressionable young man like Ellsworth, Priest was a compelling personality. The Metropolitan Museum curator's disdain for social conventions and his cultivation of eccentric behavior were especially appealing. Ellsworth particularly enjoyed Priest's irreverent comments about the possible cosmic significance of the fact that three contemporary American specialists in Asian art had the surnames Priest, Bishop, and Pope.<sup>22</sup>

Both Boney and Priest wanted Ellsworth to work at the Metropolitan Museum. To do that, however, he needed formal training, so his two admirers managed to have Ellsworth admitted to Yale University's School of Far Eastern Languages in the fall of 1948. During his first year at Yale, Ellsworth commuted from Fairfield, Connecticut, where he lived with his mother. The second year he took rooms in the home of noted landscape architect Marian Cruger Coffin (1876–1957), who had designed the grounds and gardens of the du Pont family's Winterthur estate near Wilmington, Delaware.

With his usual good fortune, Ellsworth found an ideal mentor in the person of Wang Fangyu (1913–1997),<sup>23</sup> his Chinese language teacher (fig. 3). Wang was born in Beijing and, following Chinese tradition, began to study calligraphy when he was only three years

Fig. 3. Wang Fangyu (1913–1997), ca. 1995. Courtesy of Shao F. Wang.



old. He completed his undergraduate study at Furen University before traveling to the United States, where he earned a master's degree at Columbia University in 1946. Wang taught Chinese language at Yale University and Seton Hall University for more than thirty years. In addition to conducting research on later Chinese artists, especially the eccentric master Bada Shanren (1626–1705), Wang practiced calligraphy and painting. His own work, characterized by strikingly contemporary, occasionally whimsical images, is well known and admired.<sup>24</sup>

Wang recalled that Ellsworth usually seemed preoccupied during class. Consequently, when Wang chose a Chinese name for Ellsworth, he decided on An Siyuan. The three characters of the name retain the general sound of the surname Ellsworth and also convey the meaning of someone whose mind is far away.

Ellsworth, who had an automobile, often drove Wang to New York City after class so that they could attend exhibitions or auctions of Chinese art. In New York, Ellsworth introduced Wang to Boney. Wang admitted that even as a student, Ellsworth already owned some admirable Chinese objects that Wang envied. As his interest in Chinese art grew more intense, Wang frequently dismissed his students a half hour early to be certain that he and Ellsworth would arrive in Manhattan in time for the first bids of the afternoon sales.

Wang once compared Ellsworth's unorthodox training in connoisseurship to that of Yang Renkai (born 1915), a Chinese connoisseur who was director of the Liaoning Museum in the 1980s.<sup>25</sup> On one occasion Wang asked Yang Renkai which university he had attended. Smiling broadly, Yang replied, "Liulichang University." Liulichang is a street in Beijing whose many antique shops have made it a gathering place for collectors and connoisseurs. Like Yang Renkai, Ellsworth had learned about Chinese art by studying actual objects rather than depending solely on second-hand information in books. Wang believed that collecting art is an art in itself: the collector is an artist and the collection, which represents the collector's taste, discipline, knowledge, and personality, is his artistic production.<sup>26</sup>

After two years of Chinese language study at Yale, Ellsworth decided he would rather be an artist and an art dealer than a sinologist in a museum. His decision is understandable. Rigorous academic study, which demands a regular schedule and permits only brief respites for travel and discovery of art objects in unexpected places, was incompatible with Ellsworth's restless nature.



Ellsworth's father had expressed concern about the meandering direction of his son's education. In 1950 Ellsworth was drafted for military service. His father, a veteran of the First and Second World Wars, hoped that two years in the United States Army would provide Ellsworth with much needed discipline.

Ellsworth received his basic training at Schofield Barracks in Honolulu, where, he is quick to point out, the physical and military programs were especially rigorous. When he developed an ulcer from stress and fatigue, he was sent to a military hospital. While recuperating, Ellsworth helped the hospital staff provide physical therapy for soldiers who had been wounded in the Korean War. He taught the soldiers painting, needlepoint, and basket weaving. These activities enabled Ellsworth to put his artistic talents to practical use, and he was so effective a therapist that the hospital staff kept him on after his own illnesses had been cured.

Honolulu offered many opportunities to study Asian art. The collection at the Honolulu Academy of Arts contained outstanding examples of Chinese, Japanese, and Korean bronzes, jades, paintings, sculpture, ceramics, and furniture. Even though there was an embargo on Chinese antiquities, many fine pieces still managed to reach Honolulu, where they were available in shops near the museum or in the shopping area bordering Waikiki Beach. Ellsworth took full advantage of these opportunities to learn more about Asian art.

Following his military service, Ellsworth supported himself primarily as a painter, depending on the sale of his work to purchase antiques. With renewed energy, he traveled to antique shows throughout the United States and in 1960 formed a partnership with art dealer James Goldie. The two men decided to open a gallery, Ellsworth and Goldie, Ltd., in New York City and offer English furniture and decorative arts, as well as the Asian objects that had special appeal to Ellsworth. The new venture allowed Ellsworth to put his earlier training in architecture to practical use. In collaboration with the architectural firm of Hausman and Rosenberg, Ellsworth designed a duplex antique gallery with a duplex apartment in what had been an old rooming house on East Fifty-eighth Street.<sup>27</sup>

Interior decoration, closely allied with architecture, was another profession in which Ellsworth attained remarkable success. He preferred commissions that enabled him to combine elegant interiors and outstanding Asian antiques. In addition to his own apartments and houses, the best known of Ellsworth's renovation projects

include the residence of the United States ambassador in Beijing and the home of Sir Joseph Hotung in Deep Water Bay, Hong Kong.<sup>28</sup>

Ellsworth's most ambitious architectural project was his support of the preservation of the Ming dynasty buildings in Chengkan, a small village in Huizhou Prefecture, Anhui Province (fig. 4).<sup>29</sup> As early as 1957, while pursuing his interests in Ming furniture, Ellsworth had learned of the existence of some Ming dynasty structures in Anhui, but it was not until 1991 that he finally succeeded in locating the actual site. Once he realized the importance of the buildings, Ellsworth established a nonprofit organization in Hong Kong, the China Heritage Arts Foundation, and raised funds that aided in the restoration project. In recognition of his contributions, in 1993 the people of Huizhou awarded Ellsworth a medal naming him a friend, made him an honorary citizen, and invited him to be an honorary adviser to the Huizhou Cultural Relics Exchange Association.

When Goldie retired in 1970, Ellsworth moved to 163 East Sixty-fourth Street, where, following the example of Boney, he operated his antique business from his town house. During the 1970s, the escalating market values of Asian art attracted burglars, some of them remarkably sophisticated in their taste. A series of high-profile break-ins occurred in Manhattan. In May 1977, while Ellsworth was spending the weekend in the country, a burglar entered his town house and removed a number of small, expensive objects from the vault.<sup>30</sup> Of immediate concern to Ellsworth was the loss of the pearl studs he wore with his formal evening shirts, since he was going to meet actress Claudette Colbert (1905–1997) for Sunday dinner. With his unfailing ability to handle any social situation, he promptly changed to a regular business suit and kept his dinner engagement with his longtime friend and confidante. Ellsworth has described Colbert as one of the two most important people in his life, the other person being Alice Boney.<sup>31</sup>

References to Ellsworth as “the king of Ming” are based on his expertise in Ming dynasty furniture. Once again it was Boney who taught him to appreciate the subtleties of Chinese furniture. Speaking of his initial efforts to master Chinese joinery, Ellsworth once recounted, in his usual matter-of-fact manner, how he took apart his first piece of Chinese furniture when he was about nineteen years old. “It was a table that I had bought from a dealer in Connecticut and when I picked it up it came apart in my hands,” he said. “Then I had to figure out how to put it back together.”<sup>32</sup>

In that same conversation, Ellsworth offered his opinion about Chinese and Western craftsmanship. “If I were to compare them,” he said, “I would have to say that Western cabinetmakers are still blacksmiths, whereas the Chinese are jewelers.” He then went on to give advice for anyone planning to acquire a piece of Chinese furniture: “Never buy anything that you don’t want to live with every day. After all, it’s only furniture.”<sup>33</sup>

Ellsworth does not hesitate to use modern technology to maintain his furniture. He depends on several large humidifiers to prevent shrinkage or expansion in the Chinese cabinets, tables, chairs, and stools he has learned to take apart and reassemble through years of study. For some fragile pieces, he has relied on a distinctly non-Chinese method to secure them. “Nothing has survived this long without a little glue,” he explained to one visitor as he gestured toward his outstanding collection.<sup>34</sup>

In 1971 Ellsworth published *Chinese Furniture: Hardwood Examples of the Ming and Early Ch’ing Dynasties*, which he dedicated to Boney.<sup>35</sup> Illustrating his text with excellent color and black-and-white plates, Ellsworth discusses more than 150 examples of furniture—many of them from his own collection. He also provides a succinct historical background of Chinese furniture and draws on archaeological evidence from two Ming dynasty tombs to establish guidelines for the dating of unprovenanced examples in Western collections. He examines the kinds of wood used by Chinese craftsmen, the joinery methods that make their work so unusual, and the metal mounts attached to Chinese furniture. Specialists praised the book’s wealth of factual information and Ellsworth’s emphasis on methods of construction. When copies became



Fig. 4. Robert H. Ellsworth in Anhui Province, China, 1995. In the background is Mount Huang. Courtesy of Robert H. Ellsworth.

increasingly difficult to acquire, Ellsworth described *Chinese Furniture* as “the most expensive out-of-print book for the second half of this century.”<sup>36</sup>

In 1977, when Brooke Astor funded the construction of a Chinese courtyard at the Metropolitan Museum of Art and purchased nine pieces of furniture to be displayed in the adjacent Ming room, Ellsworth made a gift of two hardwood wardrobes, a three-drawer altar coffer, and four chairs with calligraphy incised on the back splats.<sup>37</sup> Those Ming dynasty furnishings were described by the curatorial staff as “masterpieces of functional simplicity and elegance.”<sup>38</sup>

Five years later, at the invitation of the Honolulu Academy of Arts, Ellsworth selected a number of pieces of Chinese furniture in Hawaiian collections and catalogued them for a special exhibition.<sup>39</sup> The academy had been a center of Chinese furniture studies since the arrival in 1949 of the German-born sinologist Gustav Ecke (1896–1971), who became its first curator of oriental art. While in Beijing in 1944, Ecke had written *Chinese Domestic Furniture*, a major contribution to the field.<sup>40</sup> Trained as an architect, Ecke made precise scale drawings of individual pieces and structural details to illustrate his research. He arranged the furniture, selected from his own collection and from the collections of foreigners and foreign legations in Beijing, according to type, period, and style. It was a definitive study that set the standards by which all future publications on the subject would be judged.

In 1952, when Ecke organized an exhibition of Chinese furniture from Hawaiian collections at the academy, financial constraints did not permit the publication of a catalogue. Thirty years later, when Ellsworth organized the academy’s second exhibition of Chinese furniture from Hawaiian collections, it was fitting that the catalogue was dedicated to Ecke. During the decades that separated the two exhibitions, information from archaeological finds in the People’s Republic of China and from related research necessitated modification of some earlier views on dating that, understandably, had been based on details of construction and changes in decorative style.<sup>41</sup> In his introductory essay, “Connoisseurship of Chinese Furniture in Hawaiian Collections,” Ellsworth acknowledged that even the conclusions about type, period, and style he had reached as recently as 1970 had to be reassessed.<sup>42</sup>

In 1996 Ellsworth collaborated on a Chinese-English catalogue of the Chinese furniture in the collection of Mimi and Raymond Hung.<sup>43</sup> According to the collectors, the project provided an

opportunity for Ellsworth to contribute some of his recent thoughts on the subject twenty-five years after he first wrote about it. Significantly, the Hung collection included pieces that had been acquired after the reestablishment of formal trade relations between the United States and China in 1972, enabling Ellsworth to expand Western understanding of furniture production in places other than Beijing, where foreigners had made most of their acquisitions in the early decades of the twentieth century. He was also able to comment on a wider variety of hardwoods and furniture forms. Ellsworth noted that his most important conclusion was that the various dates for a great proportion of Ming dynasty furniture were actually fifty to one hundred years later than he and other specialists had initially thought. He also said that some examples were considerably earlier than had been assumed.<sup>44</sup>

Ellsworth made his most daring professional decision in 1981 when he purchased the Pan-Asian Collection. That remarkable collection, representing the aesthetic and spiritual traditions of the cultures of Southeast Asia and spanning nearly two millennia, had been assembled by Christian Humann, scion of the Lazard Frères family and a partner in the Wall Street investment banking firm Tucker, Anthony, and R. L. Day. The first Asian object Humann purchased was a small seated blanc-de-Chine Buddha, which he acquired because it was almost identical to a piece of Meissen porcelain made by Johann Joachim Kaendler (1706–1775). From the late Ming dynasty Buddha, he progressed into the full range of Asian art.

From 1959 and through the 1970s, Ellsworth was one of the art dealers who advised Humann on his purchases. In 1966 Ellsworth had purchased the entire Indian collection assembled by J. P. Belmont, who had been in charge of Swiss interests in India in the 1950s. The collection consisted of approximately 1,500 pieces of Indian art, most of them of outstanding quality. Humann was so impressed that he eventually acquired from Ellsworth more than half of the former Belmont holdings.

An unusually self-effacing collector, Humann frequently lent objects anonymously to museums for extended periods and supported the publication of research in catalogues and journals. A selection of sculptures from the approximately sixteen hundred objects in the Pan-Asian Collection was exhibited at the Los Angeles County Museum in 1977.<sup>45</sup> In the catalogue of that exhibition, Pratapaditya Pal explained how the sculptures had been used.

Most of the sculptures were rendered between the first and the thirteenth century A.D. in regions that are now known as Pakistan, India, Nepal, Tibet, Sri Lanka, Indonesia, Burma, Thailand, Cambodia, and Vietnam. . . . With one or two exceptions, all were created to serve a religious purpose, either to be worshiped as icons in temples, monasteries, or domestic shrines or to embellish the walls of religious buildings where they also conveyed a didactic message.<sup>46</sup>

With his acquisition of the Pan-Asian Collection from Christian Humann's estate, Ellsworth assumed a dominant position among the most prestigious international Asian art dealers. He had succeeded in coupling his deep understanding of Asian art with a princely array of antiquities, many of which he had originally owned but had been obliged to sell during earlier, leaner years.

After acquiring the collection, Ellsworth determined that four Burmese bronze statues had been stolen from a Buddhist temple and illegally taken out of the country. He personally returned them. Later, he was instrumental in arranging for the return of a large ninth-century Tibetan gilt bronze to the Nathang Dolma Llakhang Temple in Tibet.

To offset the initial cost of purchasing the Pan-Asian Collection, Ellsworth sold a few pieces to the Cleveland Museum

Fig. 5. Processional figure of Nandi, India, state of Tamil Nadu, 13th–14th century, bronze, height 56.0, width 38.5, length 65.5 cm. Freer Gallery of Art, purchase, F1985.30.



of Art and the Metropolitan Museum of Art. In December 1982 he offered 324 additional pieces at a Christie's auction,<sup>47</sup> all the while setting aside the finest pieces for his own personal enjoyment.<sup>48</sup> Even after offering yet another group of Pan-Asian Collection antiquities at a Sotheby's sale in 1990,<sup>49</sup> Ellsworth still retained some extraordinary examples, all of which continue to entice collectors and museum curators. For various reasons, he has vowed never to part with a few objects from the Pan-Asian Collection, together with several other treasures, for which he has a sentimental attachment.<sup>50</sup>

Several years after Ellsworth acquired the Pan-Asian Collection, he further signaled his distinct social and professional status when he moved into a twenty-three-room apartment in one of the most desirable addresses on Fifth Avenue, located only a few blocks from the Metropolitan Museum of Art. With his collections displayed in surroundings that would be difficult for most museums to duplicate, and with his impressive research library purchased from Wang Fangyu, Ellsworth has been able to devote more of his time to the study of Asian art.

One of Ellsworth's most endearing qualities, and undoubtedly one of the reasons for his remarkable success, is his genuine affection for antiquities. His discriminating aesthetic response to art objects is rooted in his artistic training and further refined by his years of intimate association with objects of every kind. At the same time, Ellsworth always maintains a healthy irreverence for antiquities, regardless of how rare or valuable. Although he invariably handles them with proper respect, he eschews the hushed genuflection that is frequently cultivated by less-assured art dealers.

In 1985 Ellsworth offered the Freer Gallery of Art a thirteenth- or fourteenth-century Indian bronze sculpture of a recumbent bull, the Hindu deity Nandi (fig. 5), that he had found being used as a garden ornament on a Texas estate. After years of exposure to chemical sprays applied to the surrounding lawn and shrubs, the surface of the bronze sculpture had darkened and most of the fine detail was hidden under a layer of residue. In spite of its unprepossessing appearance, Ellsworth recognized the bull as an important early depiction of Nandi, the traditional animal vehicle of the god Siva. Perforations and pendant rings on the base would have made it easier to lift the piece, which weighs almost two hundred pounds, and to place it on a wooden chariot so that it could ride in regal splendor through the village during temple festival processions.

Ellsworth shipped the bronze Nandi to his Fifth Avenue apartment and placed it in his kitchen, where he spent several months using strong detergents and his father's dental tools to clean the metal surface. Always a practical man despite his seeming indifference to quotidian activities, Ellsworth frequently uses the early technical training he acquired during many weekends working in his father's dental laboratory. By the time he was thirteen, Ellsworth had learned to cast inlays and was helping build orthodontic frames, work that required considerable digital dexterity. Ellsworth acknowledges that this experience also has enabled him to distinguish a patinated bronze or a carved stone that had deteriorated naturally, as the result of exposure to the elements, from a bronze or stone surface that had been aged artificially. Such expertise is rare but invaluable for an art dealer, who often has to make judgments instantaneously, under pressure, and sometimes in unusual circumstances.<sup>51</sup>

Several years earlier, Ellsworth had sold an outstanding Indian bronze Nandi sculpture to John D. Rockefeller III (1906–1978).<sup>52</sup> As he cleaned the example he had found in Texas, he knew that his initial reaction to it had been correct. Because of Ellsworth's discerning eye, the Freer Gallery now owns what is regarded as one of its most engaging religious images. Visitors to the museum frequently mention that the most appealing feature of the Nandi sculpture is the lustrous bronze surface.

A rare ritual wine vessel (*ju*) from the early Shang dynasty (ca. 1600–1050 B.C.) provides another example of Ellsworth's exceptional connoisseurship (fig. 6). The bronze vessel originally belonged to A. W. Bahr (1877–1959), a German-Chinese businessman who had been born and raised in China.<sup>53</sup> Ellsworth purchased the vessel from Bahr's daughter and sold it to Christian Humann in 1963. He regained possession of it when he acquired the Pan-Asian Collection in 1981.

When Ellsworth studied the casting technique and sparse decoration of the vessel in the 1980s, he recognized that the bronze was an example of early Shang dynasty casting. Specialists and a few well-informed art dealers, including Ellsworth, had only recently determined the early date and stylistic significance of such bronzes on the basis of archaeological finds. Today the elegant bronze vessel, assigned to the Erligang Culture (seventeenth–sixteenth century B.C.), complements the more sturdy and profusely decorated later Shang bronzes in the Freer Gallery's collection.

Fig. 6. Ritual vessel (*ju*), China, Henan Province, Zhengzhou, Shang dynasty, ca. 1600–1500 B.C., bronze, height 15.0, width 13.0 cm. Freer Gallery of Art, purchase, F1986.6.





All of Ellsworth's publications are impressive, but his *Later Chinese Painting and Calligraphy: 1800–1950*, which appeared in 1987, was by any standard an extraordinarily ambitious project (fig. 7).<sup>54</sup> The three volumes of text and color plates were bound in cloth reflecting the blue, green, and orange that dominated the palette of nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century Chinese artists. The Chinese title slip on the covers of the volumes was written by Qi Gong, a distinguished calligrapher whose characters appear on most important publications in the People's Republic of China.

In his preface, Ellsworth wrote:

This work stems from my personal enthusiasm for Chinese painting and calligraphy of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. My affair with modern Chinese art was not, however, love at first sight. In fact, I cannot recall whether my first reaction to these paintings was dislike or shock. An understanding of calligraphy came more easily, due no doubt to my having grown up in a period when abstraction was readily accepted. But for me these works stood the test of all art of substance—they grew better the longer I lived with them. They began to show me that not only had the nineteenth century produced its quota of great artists, but it had had more influence on the twentieth century than was formerly believed. Painters and calligraphers such as Wu Ch'ang-shih [Wu Changshuo], Fu Pao-shih [Fu Baoshi], and Ch'i Pai-shih [Qi Baishi] were not spontaneously generated geniuses; no one, as yet, has been born in a vacuum. The calligraphic renaissance of the nineteenth century emerged not only as a dazzling accomplishment in its own right, but as a development of seminal importance to twentieth-century painting. I became convinced that if enough works of high quality could be arrayed as a spectrum, the influences that shaped them as well as their impact on the twentieth century would become clear.

Hailing the book, one eminent Chinese painting specialist wrote that it is a “monument comparable, symbolically and historically, to Osvald Sirén's *Chinese Painting: Leading Masters and Principles* of 1956–58, and continues the story of Chinese painting from the point at which it was left by Sirén.”<sup>55</sup> Wen Fong, then professor of Chinese art at Princeton University and curator of the Asian department at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, described Ellsworth's collection as “one of the largest and most comprehensive



Fig. 7. Robert H. Ellsworth's three-volume publication *Later Chinese Painting and Calligraphy: 1800–1950*.

collections of nineteenth- and twentieth-century Chinese painting and calligraphy in the West. The sheer quality of Mr. Ellsworth's selections is our best evidence of the richness and vitality of Chinese art today." Fong also said that Ellsworth "is a tremendous dealer because he is guided by his own instincts and enthusiasm. We're very lucky to have him around."<sup>56</sup>

The year after publication of the book, Ellsworth responded to the enthusiasm for his collection of later Chinese painting and calligraphy by donating 471 examples to the Metropolitan Museum in memory of his mother. His gift was acknowledged in a major exhibition, *19th and 20th Century Chinese Painting from the Ellsworth Collection*, that was shown in two installments.<sup>57</sup> Critical reaction to Ellsworth's gift and the exhibition was extremely positive:

The exhibition . . . has had reverberations throughout the city as well as internationally. . . . Its opening . . . attracted old friends and dealers associated with Ellsworth, as well as scholars, critics, artists and new collectors. Many of these collectors were previously only interested in earlier works while others had found Chinese art unapproachable until they saw these more recent paintings.<sup>58</sup>

Ellsworth subsequently offered some of his modern Chinese paintings at auction.<sup>59</sup> In 1997 and 1998, in further acts of generosity, he presented a total of 260 calligraphies and 19 paintings by later Chinese artists to the Freer Gallery of Art. Many of the artists represented in his gift to the Freer Gallery were also well-known art collectors and connoisseurs, and the gallery houses some objects that originally belonged to them. Consequently, the Freer Gallery is able to exhibit works by the artists together with objects they collected.

Outstanding examples of early Chinese calligraphy have not always been readily available outside China, mainly because the Chinese regard calligraphy as their foremost cultural achievement and esteem the greatest masters so highly that their finest work is rarely offered for sale in the West. During the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, few foreigners appreciated the artistic subtleties of Chinese calligraphy, and serious study of the subject by Western specialists began only in recent decades. Nonetheless, in the 1970s Ellsworth acquired a remarkable group of early Chinese calligraphy that had been assembled by Count Ōtani Kōzui (1876–1948) from material brought back to Japan following the three research expeditions he sponsored in Central Asia between 1902 and 1914 (fig. 8).<sup>60</sup>

In contrast to the Central Asian expeditions undertaken in the early 1900s by European explorers such as Sir Aurel Stein (1862–1943),<sup>61</sup> Sven Hedin (1865–1952),<sup>62</sup> Albert Grünwedel (1856–1935), and Albert von Le Coq (1860–1930),<sup>63</sup> those financed by Count Ōtani Kōzui had a distinctly religious focus. Ōtani was the abbot of the Nishi Honganji in Kyoto, headquarters of the Buddhist Jōdoshin sect, and many members of his expeditions were young priests. Searching for information related to the history of Buddhism, the Ōtani missions investigated sites visited in early times by Chinese pilgrims who had traveled to India by way of Central Asia. They collected Buddhist sutras, icons, and ritual objects that could be used for the study of Buddhist doctrines.<sup>64</sup>

In 1914 the material collected during the three expeditions, which had been stored in China, was shipped to Japan in sturdy wicker trunks and assembled at Nirakusō, Ōtani's villa located at the foot of Mount Rokkō on the outskirts of Kobe. That same year, facing questions of financial impropriety, Ōtani retired as abbot of the Nishi Honganji. As no comprehensive catalogue of the objects housed at Nirakusō was ever compiled, it is impossible to be certain of the exact size of the collection. Efforts to determine the dating and chronology of individual objects in the collection have been further hampered because the archaeological data recorded by members of the expeditions were imprecise.

One portion of the Ōtani collection, mainly wall paintings and heads of clay statues, was displayed temporarily in the Onshi Hakubutsukan in Kyoto, the present-day Kyoto National Museum. Most of those objects are now in the new Tōyōkan building at the Tokyo National Museum. Nirakusō and the objects that remained there, except for approximately one hundred items retained by Ōtani, were purchased in 1916–17 by businessman Kuhara Fusanosuke. He turned Ōtani's villa into a school and donated the archaeological objects to the Chōsen Sōtokufu, the Government-General Museum in Korea, at a time when Korea was a Japanese colony. Undoubtedly, Ōtani was prompted to sell his villa and some of the Central Asian collection because of his precarious financial situation.

After Ōtani sold Nirakusō, he moved his personal collection to a villa located in Lüshun on the Liaodong peninsula in southern Manchuria, a part of China that had been leased to Russia by the Chinese government but was granted to Japan in 1905 at the end of the Russo-Japanese War. Ōtani eventually deposited some wall paintings, clay equestrian figures, sutras, and inscribed wooden slips



Fig. 8. Count Ōtani Kōzui, London, August 1902. From Kagawa Mokushiki, ed., *Saiiki Kōko Zufu* (Illustrated catalogue of Central Asian archaeology) (Tokyo: Kokkōsha, 1917). 1: frontispiece.

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Fig. 9. Detail from the Buddhist text *Mahāprajñāpāramitā sūtra*, volume (juan) 2, China, Northern Wei dynasty (A.D. 386–535), ink on yellow waxed paper. Collection of Robert Hatfield Ellsworth. According to records from the Ōtani expedition, this text was unearthed at Turfan in Xinjiang Province. Photograph by Shin Hada, courtesy of Robert H. Ellsworth.

in the Kantōchō Hakubutsukan, the present-day Lüshun Museum in Dairen, Liaoning Province. After Ōtani's death, still other portions of his holdings were donated to Ryūkoku University in Kyoto, and the Nishi Honganji presented to the Ryūkyoku Library some Buddhist texts that had been owned by members of the Ōtani expeditions. Yet another selection of Central Asian pieces from the Ōtani expeditions, including wall paintings, sculpture, and handicraft items, was purchased by the Japanese government and transferred to the Tokyo National Museum. The successive dispersals of objects from the Ōtani expeditions over several decades contributed further to the confusion regarding their documentation.

All of the Chinese calligraphy from Ōtani's collection that Ellsworth acquired in the late 1970s pertained to Buddhism (fig. 9), and several examples were said to have come from Dunhuang and Turfan.<sup>65</sup> The calligraphies date from the Northern Wei dynasty (A.D. 386–535) through the Song dynasty (A.D. 960–1279). Ōtani probably assembled them for his private appreciation, since the sheets of paper are modest in size. That conjecture is further supported by the fact that each example had been mounted and all

were stored in a finely constructed wooden cabinet. As part of the same purchase, Ellsworth acquired fourteen examples of Korean calligraphy, all Buddhist texts dating from the United Silla period (A.D. 668–935) to the Koryŏ period (A.D. 918–1392). They also had belonged to Ōtani and had been similarly mounted and stored. In 1987 Ellsworth lent the Chinese and Korean Buddhist calligraphy from the Ōtani collection for an exhibition at the Fung Ping Shan Museum in Hong Kong.<sup>66</sup> He later lent two Korean sutra fragments, written in gold on indigo paper, for an exhibition organized by the Japan Society in New York City.<sup>67</sup>

During the 1980s Ellsworth assembled an equally impressive collection of rubbings of Chinese calligraphy. Once again he ventured into an area that was unfamiliar to most foreigners, as was evident when a group of important rubbings was offered at auction in New York City in 1992. He obtained the most outstanding examples only after spirited bidding against Chinese collectors who were fully aware of their cultural significance.<sup>68</sup> The ultimate recognition of the quality of Ellsworth's collection of rubbings came in 1996 when he was invited to exhibit fifteen specimens in the Palace Museum in Beijing.<sup>69</sup> Such an honor has been bestowed on few foreigners. Although the exhibition was originally scheduled to be shown in the former Qing palace for only three weeks, public reaction was so enthusiastic that it was extended for two weeks.

Pride of place in the Palace Museum exhibition was given to three volumes (*juan*)—six, seven, and eight—of the *Chunhuage tie*, a collection of rubbings of calligraphy by famous calligraphers (fig. 10). The collection was compiled in the late tenth century by Wang Zhu (died A.D. 990) at the command of the Song dynasty ruler Taizong (reigned A.D. 976–97).<sup>70</sup> The original woodblocks for the *Chunhuage tie* were destroyed in a fire during the Qingli period (A.D. 1041–1048). These three volumes, the only existing original rubbings, preserve examples of cursive script (*caoshu*) by Wang Xizhi (A.D. ca. 303–ca. 361), universally regarded as the sage of Chinese calligraphy. Although some Chinese connoisseurs over the centuries have criticized Wang Zhu's selection of calligraphy, even suggesting that some of the examples might be spurious, the value of the *Chunhuage* rubbings remains unparalleled for the study of early Chinese calligraphy.

The three volumes bear seals, including those of Jia Sidao (1213–1276) and Sun Chengze (1593–1675), that offer an impressive record of the Song, Yuan, Ming, Qing, and Republic period collectors who have seen or owned the rare Song dynasty rubbings.

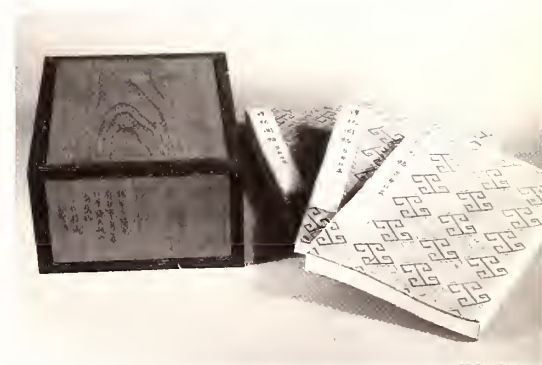


Fig. 10. Volumes 6, 7, and 8 of calligraphy rubbings from the *Chunhuage tie*, China, Song dynasty, 10th century, and a wooden box made in the late 1920s. Collection of Robert Hatfield Ellsworth. The box bears a carved inscription by Chu Deyi (1871–1942) written in 1929. Photograph by Shin Hada, courtesy of Robert H. Ellsworth.

The title slips on the brocade-covered wooden panels now protecting the rubbings state that they were once owned by An Qi (ca. 1683–ca. 1744), a Korean collector whose holdings of Chinese art are among the most famous of the Qing dynasty.<sup>71</sup> At the beginning of the Republic period (1912–), the three volumes were in the collection of Li Ruiqing (1867–1920), who wrote a colophon that is still preserved. Chu Deyi (1871–1942) also wrote a colophon, dated 1929, and another of Chu’s inscriptions is carved on the outer surface of the wooden box containing the volumes. That same year Wu Hufan (1893–1970) added a painting of a scholar in a studio. An inscription states that he did the painting at the time the *Chunhuage* rubbings changed hands. As a discreet indication of his role in the preservation and appreciation of these time-honored calligraphic treasures, Ellsworth added his own seals beside those of the Chinese connoisseurs.

When Ellsworth reminisces about his career, it is understandable that he takes considerable pride in what he has accomplished. About his profession he says, “This is the best business in the world for me. You never get bored, you never have to retire. So long as the brain works you’re worth more every day to somebody—mainly yourself. Life is always interesting.”<sup>72</sup>

People sometimes ask Ellsworth if he has had any regrets in life. He once responded, “I have only two regrets: the things I did not have the money to buy, and that so many who would have derived great pleasure from this accomplishment are dead.”<sup>73</sup> Ellsworth has promised that he will one day write his autobiography, which he intends to call *The Inventory*. It will consist of three categories in his life: people, places, and objects. The story will jump from place to place without any thread other than the objects. This format will allow Ellsworth to focus on the behind-the-scenes details of the objects’ collection histories, including who or what made him buy specific antiquities.<sup>74</sup> While we are waiting for Ellsworth’s autobiography, we can take pleasure in watching as he continues to acquire one art treasure after another.

## NOTES

1. Anita Christy, "The Dealer as Collector—An Interview with Robert H. Ellsworth," *Orientalism* 19, no. 2 (February 1988): p. 41.
2. Annette Juliano, "Robert H. Ellsworth Treasures the East," *Architectural Digest* (October 1985): p. 106.
3. Ellsworth discussed some of the pioneering Americans in a lecture, "Collecting Chinese Art in the Late 19th–Early 20th Centuries," presented at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, on April 19, 1995.
4. Michael Goedhuis, "Michael Goedhuis talks to James J. Lally," *Asian Art Newspaper* 2, no. 3 (January 1999): p. 8.
5. Ann Ray Martin, "American Mandarin: Robert Ellsworth is the Duveen of Oriental Art," *Connoisseur* (November 1984): pp. 95–101. Joseph Duveen (1869–1939) was a flamboyant English art dealer who enabled a number of wealthy Americans, including Henry Clay Frick, J. Pierpont Morgan, and Andrew W. Mellon, to assemble outstanding collections of European masterpieces.
6. Eric Pace, "Loss to Thieves by 'King of Ming' Put at \$300,000," *New York Times*, May 17, 1977, p. 37, col. 3. Ellsworth subsequently used that alliterative title in an article on Chinese furniture, "Edicts from The King of Ming," *Art and Antiques* 9, no. 8 (October 1992): pp. 61–65.
7. Christy, "Dealer as Collector," p. 42.
8. For Ellsworth's gift of 471 Chinese paintings to the Metropolitan Museum of Art in memory of LaFerne Hatfield Ellsworth, see Caron Smith, "19th and 20th Century Chinese Paintings in the Ellsworth Collection," *Orientalism* 19, no. 2 (February 1988): pp. 20–39.
9. Juliano, "Ellsworth Treasures the East," p. 102.
10. Christy, "Dealer as Collector," pp. 41–42.
11. Juliano, "Ellsworth Treasures the East," p. 106.
12. Christy, "Dealer as Collector," p. 44.
13. The discussion of Alice Boney is based on information in Anita Christy, "Alice Boney, The Doyenne of Oriental Art Dealers," *Orientalism* 19, no. 12 (December 1988): 54–59.
14. Christy, "Alice Boney," p. 54.
15. Juliano, "Ellsworth Treasures the East," p. 106.
16. For details on Priest's life, see Joseph M. Upton and C. Edward Wells, *Alan Reed Priest* (n.p., 1970).
17. Obituary, *New York Times*, January 23, 1969, p. 3.
18. Langdon Warner, *The Long Old Road in China* (New York: Doubleday, Page, 1926); and Peter Hopkirk, *Foreign Devils on the Silk Road* (London: John Murray, 1980), pp. 209–22.
19. For Priest's recollections of his trip to Dunhuang, see Alan Priest, "Tun Huang," in *Aspects of Chinese Painting* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1954), pp. 114–21. For Warner's account of the frustrating second Fogg trip, see Langdon Warner, *Buddhist Wall-Paintings: A Study of a Ninth-Century Grotto at Wan Fo Hsia* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1938), pp. xiii–xv. For Chinese assessments of the Fogg expeditions, see Chen Wanli 陳萬里, *Xixing riji* 西行日記 (Diary of a journey to the West) (Beijing: Beijing University, 1926); and Susan Chan Egan, *A Latterday Confucian: Reminiscences of William Hung (1893–1980)* (Cambridge: Council of East Asian Studies, Harvard University, 1987), pp. 112–16.
20. Alan Priest, *Chinese Sculpture in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1944).
21. The Hundred Crane robe features elaborate embroidery on brocaded satin. See Alan Priest, *Costumes from the Forbidden City* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1945), pl. 26. Also see Alan Priest, "Prepare for Emperors," *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, n.s., 2, no. 1 (1943): pp. 33–46. Priest notes that the Hundred Crane robe came from the tomb of Guo Qinwang 果親王 (died 1738), the seventeenth son of the Kangxi emperor. The prince's tomb, located in the environs of Beijing, was looted in 1934. Later, the Nelson Gallery, Kansas City, acquired many of the contents. A hilarious account of Priest's problems in obtaining the skeleton appeared in "Museum Piece," *New Yorker*, April 14, 1945, pp. 17–18.
22. Carl Whiting Bishop (1881–1942) and John Alexander Pope (1906–1982) spent most of their careers as staff members at the Freer Gallery of Art. See Thomas Lawton and Thomas W. Lentz, *Beyond the Legacy* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1998), pp. 29–32, 40–41, 49–55.
23. Wang Fangyu offers an account of his relationship with Ellsworth in the introduction to *Robert Hatfield Ellsworth Collection of Modern Chinese Paintings*, by Sotheby's, New York, sale cat., June 16, 1993.

24. In collaboration with Richard M. Barnhart, Wang Fangyu compiled the comprehensive exhibition catalogue *Master of the Lotus Garden: The Life and Art of Bada Shanren (1626–1705)* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990). The list of Wang's publications included in the bibliography provides eloquent proof of his intense research on late Qing dynasty artists. In 1984 Wang Fangyu selected some of his own work for an exhibition. See *Dancing Ink: Pictorial Calligraphy and Calligraphic Painting, Catalogue of an International Traveling Exhibition 1985–1988 Sponsored by Seton Hall University* (n.p., 1984). He was the focus of an exhibition at the China Institute, New York City, in spring 1999. See Emily Walters, ed., *A Literati Life in the Twentieth Century: Wang Fangyu—Artist, Scholar, Connoisseur* (New York: China Institute in America, 1999).
25. For Yang Renkai's outstanding connoisseurship, see Yang Renkai 楊仁愷, *Gnobao dienfu lu: Gugong sanyi shuhua jianwen kaolie* 國寶沉浮錄: 故宮散佚書畫見聞考略 (Record of the vicissitudes of national treasures: Investigation of the dispersed and lost calligraphies and paintings from the former palace that I have seen and heard about) (Shanghai: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1991); and Thomas Lawton, review of *Gnobao dienfu lu*, *Artibus Asiae* 54, nos. 3/4 (1994): pp. 378–80.
26. Wang Fangyu, introduction to *Robert Hatfield Ellsworth Collection of Modern Chinese Paintings*, by Sotheby's, New York, sale cat., June 16, 1993.
27. Barbara Plumb, "East Side Orientale," *New York Times Magazine*, May 7, 1967, pp. 98–99.
28. Sir Joseph acknowledged that Ellsworth introduced him to the whole range of Chinese jade carving and assisted him in forming his exceptional collection. See Sir Joseph Hotung, preface to *Chinese Jades from the Neolithic to the Qing*, by Jessica Rawson and Carol Michaelson (London: British Museum Press, 1995), p. 9.
29. Margaret Loke, "Chengkan: A Ming Village," *Orientalism* 30, no. 2 (February 1999): pp. 59–64.
30. Two accounts of the burglary appeared in the *New York Times*. One of the articles included a description of Ellsworth as "the king of Ming," an appellation that has been associated with him ever since. "\$500,000 Art Theft," *New York Times*, May 16, 1977, p. 32, col. 4; and Pace, "Loss to Thieves," p. 37, col. 3.
31. Martin, "American Mandarin," p. 100.
32. Ellsworth, "Edicts," p. 62.
33. *Ibid.*, p. 65.
34. "Furniture Collectors and Their Treasures from China," *New York Times*, January 31, 1980, p. c6.
35. Robert Hatfield Ellsworth, *Chinese Furniture: Hardwood Examples of the Ming and Early Ch'ing Dynasties* (New York: Random House, 1971). See Laurence Sickman, review of *Chinese Furniture*, *Antiques* 101, no. 3 (March 1972): pp. 516–23. Also see Makiko Ichiura, "Chinese Furniture of Robert Ellsworth," *Arts of Asia* 6, no. 5 (September–October 1976): pp. 83–87. For additional comments on the subject, see Robert Hatfield Ellsworth, "Some Further Thoughts on Chinese Furniture: A Talk Given to the Society," *Oriental Ceramic Society of Hong Kong Bulletin*, no. 5 (1980–81): pp. 9–16, reprinted in *Journal of the Classical Chinese Furniture Society* 1, no. 3 (Summer 1991): pp. 27–37. In 1992 Ellsworth published a review of five Chinese furniture exhibitions, four in Beijing and one in Hong Kong. See Robert Ellsworth, "A Profusion of Chinese Furnishings," *Orientalism* 23, no. 5 (May 1992): pp. 82–84.
36. Christy, "Dealer as Collector," p. 44.
37. For information on the four chairs, see Ellsworth, *Chinese Furniture*, pp. 26–42; and Wang Shixiang 王世襄, "Lüetan Ming Qing jiaju kuanzhi ji zuowei juli" 略談明清家具款識及作偽舉例 (A brief discussion of Ming and Qing domestic furniture inscriptions and forged examples), *Gugong bowuyuan yuankan* 故宮博物院院刊, no. 3 (1979): pp. 72–96.
38. Alfreda Murck and Wen Fong, "A Chinese Garden Court: The Astor Court at the Metropolitan Museum of Art," *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, n.s., 38, no. 3 (Winter 1980–81): pp. 4–64. Also see Ellsworth's philosophy regarding Chinese furniture in Ellsworth, "Edicts," pp. 61–65.
39. Robert Hatfield Ellsworth and Howard A. Link, *Chinese Hardwood Furniture in Hawaiian Collections* (Honolulu: Honolulu Academy of Arts, 1982).
40. Gustav Ecke, *Chinese Domestic Furniture* (Beijing: Henri Vetch, 1944), published in a limited edition of two hundred copies. A facsimile edition was published by Charles E. Tuttle Co. in 1963. For reviews of *Chinese Domestic Furniture*, see Eleanor von Erdberg Consten, *Monumenta Serica* 10 (1945): pp. 437–41; E. H. von Tscharner, *Artibus Asiae* 11 (1948): pp. 312–16; Alexander C. Soper, *Oriental Art*, n.s., 1, no. 4 (Spring 1949): pp. 194–95; Percival Yetts, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (October 1949): pp. 125–37, reprinted in *Journal of the Classical Chinese Furniture Society* 2, no. 2 (Spring 1992): pp. 69–76; and Mary L. Hillier, *Connoisseur* 159 (1966): p. 55. For obituaries of Ecke, see
- Pierre Jaxuillard, *Artibus Asiae* 34, nos. 2/3 (1972): pp. 115–18; Laurence Sickman, *Archives of Asian Art* 26 (1972–73): pp. 6–8; and Ernest Jackson, "Homage to Gustav Ecke," *Journal of the Chinese Classical Furniture Society* 2, no. 1 (1992): pp. 69–72.
41. Ellsworth and Link, *Chinese Hardwood Furniture*, p. 11.
42. *Ibid.*, pp. 25–30.
43. Robert Hatfield Ellsworth, Nicholas Grindley, and Anita Christy, *Chinese Furniture: One Hundred Examples from the Mimi and Raymond Hung Collection* (New York: n.p., 1996). In a touching gesture, Ellsworth extended special thanks to his former professor and old friend Wang Fangyu for proofreading the Chinese translation of the catalogue's text.
44. *Ibid.*, p. 21.
45. Pratapaditya Pal, *The Sensuous Immortals: A Selection of Sculptures from the Pau-Asian Collection, Catalogue of the Traveling Exhibition* (Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum, 1977).
46. *Ibid.*, p. 9.
47. Christie's, New York, *The Pau-Asian Collection, Parts I and II. An Important Group of Himalayan, Indian and Southeast Asian Sculpture, and Eclectic Near and Far Eastern Works of Art from the Estate of Christian Humann*, sale cat., December 1, 1982.
48. Martin, "American Mandarin," p. 101.
49. Sotheby's, New York, *Indian and Southeast Asian Sculpture from the Pau-Asian Collection*, sale cat., October 5, 1990. The provenance information for the objects in this catalogue clearly indicates the dates and sources of Christian Humann's acquisitions, as well as his generosity in lending objects to museums.
50. Anita Christy, "Not for Sale: A Few of Robert Ellsworth's Favourite Possessions," *Orientalism* 22, no. 6 (June 1991): pp. 56–62.
51. Juliano, "Ellsworth Treasures the East," p. 108.
52. For the Rockefeller bronze Nandi, see Robert D. Mowry, *Handbook of the Mr. and Mrs. John D. Rockefeller 3rd Collection* (New York: Asia Society, 1981), p. 18, where the sculpture is dated circa 1250–1300.
53. A. W. Bahr, *Old Chinese Porcelains and Works of Art in China* (London: Cassell and Company, 1911); Berthold Laufer, *Archaic Chinese Jades Collected in China by A. W. Bahr Now in the Field Museum of Natural History* (New York: n.p., 1927); and Osvald Sirén, *Early Chinese Paintings from the A. W. Bahr*



Collection (London: Chiswick Press, 1938).

54. *Later Chinese Painting and Calligraphy: 1800–1950*, 3 vols. (New York: Random House, 1987). Ellsworth worked on the manuscript of the book for more than thirteen years and credited Robert L. Bernstein, his friend and publisher, as well as chairman of the board and president of Random House, for his support. Without Bernstein's belief in the project, it is unlikely that the book would ever have been published. Ellsworth realized that Bernstein had taken a considerable risk and was delighted when critical reaction was so favorable. As an expression of his appreciation, Ellsworth dedicated the text volume of the three-volume set to Bernstein. The second volume, which is devoted to paintings, is dedicated to Alice Boney, whom Ellsworth praises as a pioneer in the study of later Chinese painting. Finally, Ellsworth dedicated the third volume, on calligraphy, to his friend and colleague Hei Hunglu, a specialist in Chinese furniture. For reviews of *Later Chinese Painting and Calligraphy*, see Peter C. Swann, *Oriental Art*, n.s., 34, no. 2 (Summer 1988): pp. 140–52; and Richard M. Barnhart, *Oriental Art*, no. 10 (October 1988): pp. 66–72.

55. Barnhart, review of *Later Chinese Painting*, p. 66.

56. Martin, "American Mandarin," p. 97.

57. The first installment was displayed from February 11 to June 23, 1988, and the second installment from June 27 to September 25, 1988. See Smith, "19th and 20th Century Chinese Paintings," pp. 20–39; and Christy, "Dealer as Collector," pp. 40–45.

58. "Report from New York," *Oriental Art* 19, no. 8 (August 1988): p. 67.

59. Sotheby's, New York, *Robert Hatfield Ellsworth Collection of Modern Chinese Paintings. Portions of the proceeds to benefit Yale University Press and the Department of Conservation and Scientific Research, The Freer Gallery of Art and the Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.*, sale cat., June 16, 1993. The auction included 257 lots of paintings.

60. For Count Ōtani's account in English of the first expedition, see Count Ōtani Kōzui, "The Japanese Pilgrimage to the Buddhist Holy Land: A Personal Narrative of the Hongwanji Expedition of 1902–03," *Century Magazine* 72, no. 6 (April 1907): pp. 866–78. See also Sugumori Hisahide 杉森久英, *Ōtani Kōzui 大谷光瑞* (Tokyo: Chūō Kōronsha, 1975); Kurata Seiji 倉田整治, ed., *Ōtani Kōzui Shōnin scitan hyakumen kinen bunshū 大谷光瑞上人人生証百年記念文集* (Collected writings commemorating the one-hundredth anniversary of the birth of Shōnin Ōtani

Kōzui) (Kyoto: Zuimonkai, 1978); Tōkyō Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan 東京国立博物館, *Tōkyō Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan zhan mokuoku. Ōtani Tankentai shoraihin hen 東京国立博物館圖版目錄大谷探検隊將來品篇* (*Illustrated Catalogue of Tokyo National Museum. Central Asian Objects Brought Back by the Ōtani Mission*) (Tokyo: Tōkyō Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan, 1971); and Kwon Young-Pil, "The Ōtani Collection," *Oriental Art* 20, no. 3 (March 1989): pp. 53–63.

61. For information on Stein's career, see Jeannette Mirsky, *Sir Aurel Stein, Archaeological Explorer* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1977).

62. For information on Hedin's career, see Sven Hedin, *My Life as an Explorer* (New York: Bone and Liveright, 1925).

63. For a concise discussion of the German expeditions led by Grünwedel and von Le Coq, see Herbert Härtel, "The German Expeditions (1902–14)," in *Along the Ancient Silk Routes: Central Asian Art from the West Berlin State Museums* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1982), pp. 25–46.

64. Kagawa Mokushiki 香川黙識, ed., preface to *Saiiki Kōko Zufu 西域考古圖譜* (*Illustrated catalogue of Central Asian archaeology*) (Tokyo: Kokkōsha, 1917), 1:1–4. This sumptuous two-volume publication documents the three Ōtani missions and illustrates 690 important objects selected from the finds, but it does not include an essay or detailed information about the objects. Although Kagawa Mokushiki is named as the chief editor, the work was actually compiled by Hamada Kōsaku 浜田耕作 (1881–1938) and Taki Seichi 龍精一 (1873–1945). Volume one includes illustrations of paintings, sculpture, woven fabrics and embroideries, ancient coins, miscellaneous items, and some sculpture purchased in India. Volume two includes illustrations of Buddhist sutras, Buddhist manuscripts, historical documents, canonical and general documents, documents in Central Asian languages, and stamped prints.

65. For examples of closely related Chinese calligraphy recovered by the Ōtani expeditions at Dunhuang and Turfan, see *Shiroku Rodo to Bukkyō bunka: Ōtani Tankentai no kiseki シルクロードと佛教文化: 大谷探検隊の軌跡* (*The Silk Road and Buddhist culture: The routes of the Ōtani mission*) (Kanazawashi: Ishikawa Kenritsu Rekishi Hakubutsukan, 1991), pp. 18–30, entries 15–33; *Bukkyō tōzen: Gion Shōja kara Asuka made. Ryūkoku Daigaku 350-shūnen Kinen Gakujutsu Kikaku Shuppan Henshū linkai hen 佛教東漸: 祇園精舎から飛鳥まで。龍谷大学三五〇周年記念学術企畫出版編集委員会編* (Eastern

advance of Buddhism: From the Gion monastery to Asuka. Congress commemorating the 350th anniversary of Ryūkoku University) (Kyoto: Shibunkaku Shuppan, 1991), pp. 206–204, figs. 43–46; and Kagawa, *Saiiki Kōko Zufu*, 2: plates inserted before p. 441 and between pp. 586–587.

66. *An Exhibition of Chinese and Korean Sūtra Manuscripts: From the Collection of Robert Hatfield Ellsworth* (*Meiguo Ninnyeshi An Siyuan xiansheng suocang lidai fojiao xiejing zhuan 美國紐約市安思遠先生所藏歷代佛教寫經展*), with a preface by Jao Tsung-i 饒宗頤 (Hong Kong: Fung Ping Shan Museum, University of Hong Kong, 1987).

67. See entry by Amy G. Poster and Hyunsoo Woo in *Crosscurrents: Masterpieces of East Asian Art from New York Collections* (New York: Japan Society, 1999), pp. 68–69.

68. Lots 1, 3, and 12 in Christie's, New York, *Fine Chinese Paintings and Calligraphy from the Li Family Qunyuzhai Collection*, sale cat., December 2, 1992. See also Qianshen Bai, "The Artistic and Intellectual Dimensions of Chinese Calligraphy Rubbings: Some Examples from the Collection of Robert Hatfield Ellsworth," *Oriental Art* 30, no. 3 (March 1999): pp. 82–88.

69. *An Siyuan cang shanben beitie xuan 安思遠藏善本碑帖選* (*The Chunhuage tie and Rare Rubbings from The Collection of Robert Hatfield Ellsworth*) (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1996). The exhibition was held in the painting wing of the Palace Museum, Beijing, in September 1996.

70. *An Siyuan cang shanben beitie xuan*, pp. 9–39. See lot 55 in Christie's, New York, *Fine Chinese Paintings, Calligraphy and Rubbings*, sale cat., September 19, 1995. In 1999 Ellsworth lent the three volumes from the *Chunhuage tie*, together with volume four, an eleventh-century rubbing, for an exhibition at the Japan Society in New York City. See entry by Richard A. Pegg in *Crosscurrents: Masterpieces of East Asian Art from New York Private Collections* (New York: Japan Society, 1999), pp. 98–101.

71. Thomas Lawton, "The Mo-yūan Hui-kuan by An Ch'i," *Gugong bowuyuan jikan: Qingzhu Jiang Fucong xiansheng qishisi niunwenji 故宮博物院季刊: 慶祝蔣復璁先生七十歲論文集* (*National Palace Museum Quarterly: Symposium in Honor of Dr. Chiang Fu-tsung on His 70th Birthday*), special issue, no. 1 (1969): pp. 13–35.

72. Martin, "American Mandarin," p. 101.

73. Christy, "Dealer as Collector," p. 45.

74. Christy, "Dealer as Collector," p. 45.

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# *Stone and Metal to Paper: Ancient Calligraphy Reinterpreted*

**Joseph Chang**

Chinese artists throughout history have sought inspiration by exploring and reinterpreting long-standing traditions. The calligraphers of the late eighteenth to the mid-nineteenth century were no exception. Believing their predecessors had exhausted the expressive possibilities of a classical tradition that had been practiced for almost fifteen hundred years, these calligraphers pioneered a revolutionary approach by delving deeper into the ancient past. They found their models in the inscriptions on stone slabs, called stelae, and bronze vessels created primarily before the fourth century A.D.

The art of calligraphy, or “beautiful writing,” evolved over many centuries, beginning about the middle of the Shang dynasty (ca. 1600–1050 B.C.). By the time of the Eastern Jin dynasty (A.D. 317–420), the five major Chinese script types were firmly established: seal, clerical, cursive, running, and standard (figs. 1–5).<sup>1</sup> During much of this formative period, calligraphy was mostly used for documentary or commemorative purposes. It was cast on bronze vessels, carved on stones, or written on silk, bamboo slips, or paper. The earliest extant writing brush was excavated from a tomb dating to the late Warring States period (480–221 B.C.), and archaeologists have found traces of brush writing on oracle bones from the Shang dynasty.<sup>2</sup>



Fig. 1. Detail from a 13th-century rubbing of the Stone Drums (*Shigu wen*), first drum, Eastern Zhou dynasty (771–221 B.C.), seal script. Collection of Robert Hatfield Ellsworth.



Fig. 2. Detail from a late-16th-century rubbing of the *Cao Quan bei* (Stele for Cao Quan), Eastern Han dynasty, A.D. 185, clerical script. Collection of Robert Hatfield Ellsworth.

Few of the early works of calligraphy bear a writer's name. Most of the individuals whose names do appear are not particularly known in history as calligraphers. On the other hand, for most early individuals who were well known in their time as calligraphers, such as Zhong You (A.D. 151–230) and Zhang Zhi (A.D. 196–219), no original works have survived.<sup>3</sup> Not until Wang Xizhi (A.D. ca. 303–ca. 361), often called “the Sage of Calligraphy,” did a calligrapher achieve lasting recognition for his work. From the fourth century onward, traditional Chinese calligraphy is defined by three major periods: the rise and dominance of various writing styles, especially running script, derived from the calligraphy of Wang Xizhi; the development of the model-letters tradition (*tiexuepai*), which started in the early Song dynasty (A.D. 960–1279); and the development of the stele tradition (*beixuepai*) in the nineteenth century.<sup>4</sup>

Wang Xizhi's revolutionary spontaneous and rhythmic writing style in running and cursive scripts and his elegant and delicate disposition of small standard script liberated and transformed calligraphy. Three centuries later, Emperor Taizong (reigned A.D. 627–49)

Page 40: Detail from a couplet, Zhao Zhiqian (1829–1884), standard script, Qing dynasty, mid-19th century. See cat. no. 11.

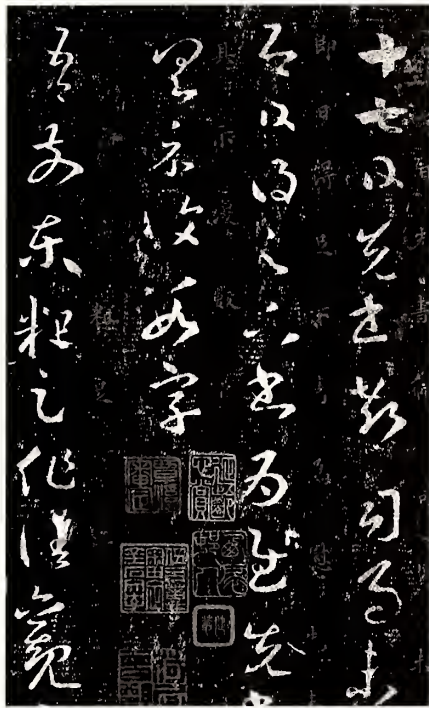


Fig. 3. Detail from a Song dynasty (A.D. 960–1279) rubbing of *Shiqi tie*, based on writing by Wang Xizhi (A.D. ca. 303–ca. 361), cursive script. Collection of Robert Hatfield Ellsworth.

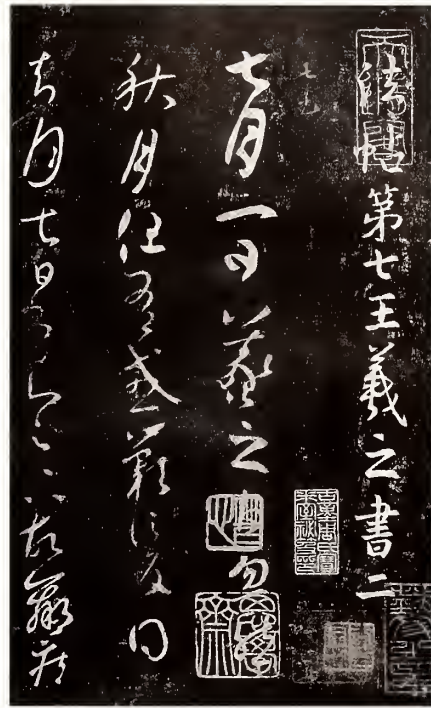


Fig. 4. Detail from an A.D. 992 rubbing of *Qiuyue tie*, in volume 7 of the *Chunhuage tie*, based on writing by Wang Xizhi (A.D. ca. 303–ca. 361), running script. Collection of Robert Hatfield Ellsworth.

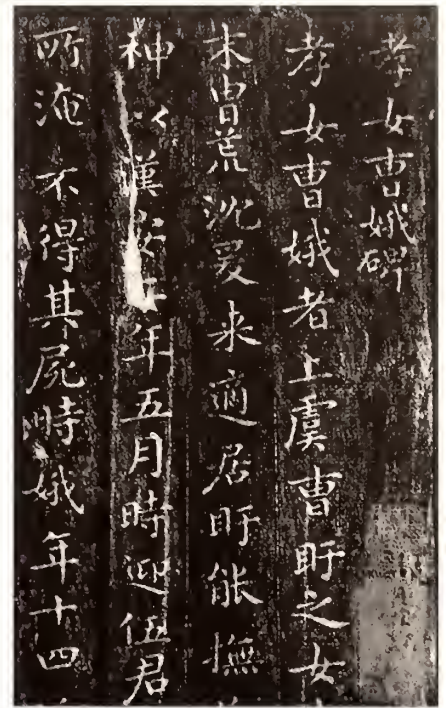


Fig. 5. Detail from a 12th- to 16th-century rubbing of the *Xiaonü Cao E bei* (Stele for filial daughter Cao E), based on writing by Wang Xizhi (A.D. ca. 303–ca. 361), standard script. Collection of Robert Hatfield Ellsworth.

of the Tang dynasty (A.D. 618–907) became a great admirer of Wang’s calligraphy. Under his patronage, most early Tang masters followed the aesthetic canon of Wang Xizhi and his son Xianzhi (A.D. 344–388), called “the Two Wangs.” The stylistic lineage of the Two Wangs and their relatives and followers thus became known as the classical tradition of Chinese calligraphy (figs. 3–6).<sup>5</sup>

The tradition of the Two Wangs gained new strength in the late tenth century when Emperor Taizong (reigned A.D. 976–97) of the Song dynasty commanded his court calligrapher, Wang Zhu (died A.D. 990), to compile the finest examples of calligraphy from letters in the imperial archives. The ten-volume series of rubbings derived from the model letters, completed during the dynasty’s Chunhua era (A.D. 990–95), is known as the *Chunhuage tie*. It was engraved on wooden plates in A.D. 992, and rubbings were subsequently made and disseminated.<sup>6</sup> The first half of the *Chunhuage tie* was reserved for works by emperors, eminent officials, and calligraphy masters from the Han dynasty (206 B.C.–A.D. 220) onward. It consisted of 186 letters by 101 calligraphers. The second half, comprising 233 letters, was devoted exclusively to the Two Wangs.

After the publication of the *Chunhuage tie*, calligraphers generally followed the style of the model letters for their running and cursive scripts. For standard script, they modeled their style on the writings

of various Tang dynasty masters, who had derived their style from the Two Wangs.<sup>7</sup>

In the subsequent Yuan dynasty (1279–1368) and Ming dynasty (1368–1644), leading masters of calligraphy, such as Zhao Mengfu (1254–1322) and Dong Qichang (1555–1636), continued to seek inspiration from the great classical tradition initiated by the Two Wangs and advanced by the Tang masters (figs. 7–8).<sup>8</sup> Early emperors of the Qing dynasty (1644–1911), like many previous rulers, were calligraphy enthusiasts. The Kangxi emperor (reigned 1661–1722), for example, favored Dong Qichang's style, while the Qianlong emperor (reigned

1735–96) followed that of Zhao Mengfu. With such imperial advocacy, court calligraphers naturally pursued these styles as well. Thus, the tradition of the Two Wangs, through the patronage of Tang and Song emperors, the guidance of leading calligraphy masters of the Yuan and the Ming, and the enthusiasm of the early Qing emperors, was a dominant force from the seventh to the nineteenth century.

In the early Qing period, Ming loyalist Gu Yanwu (1613–1682) revived the study of ancient metal and stone objects (*jinshixue*), which had originated in the Han dynasty, reached its height in the Song dynasty, and then declined sharply during the Yuan and Ming dynasties.<sup>9</sup> By studying these objects, Ming loyalists were able to reminisce about China's past glory while avoiding persecution from the current Qing regime. Although the study of ancient objects in the mid-seventeenth century had political connotations, it gradually transformed into a purely aesthetic pursuit in the eighteenth century.<sup>10</sup> By the mid-nineteenth century, it had changed the course of Chinese art, including calligraphy.<sup>11</sup>

Seeking new sources of inspiration, many nineteenth-century calligraphy masters deliberately broke away from the elegant classical tradition of the Two Wangs. With a reverence for China's ancient world, they studied the mostly anonymous inscriptions on bronzes and stelae from the Qin dynasty (221–206 B.C.) through

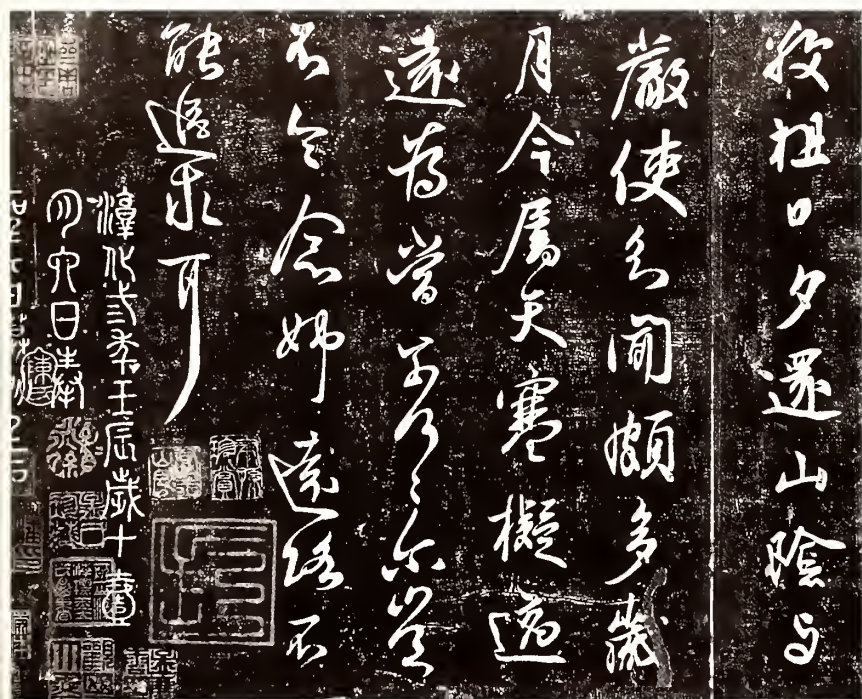


Fig. 6. A Song dynasty (A.D. 960–1279) rubbing of *Jingzu tie*, in volume 10 of the *Chunhuage tie*, based on writing by Wang Xianzhi (A.D. 344–388), running-cursive script. Freer Gallery of Art, purchase, F1980.2021-1a.

the Northern and Southern Dynasties (A.D. 317–589), ultimately creating a new aesthetic canon. This dynamic period in the history of Chinese calligraphy, when early writing styles on metal and stone were reinterpreted with brush on paper, is called the Revival of the Stele Tradition (*beixue zhongxing*).<sup>12</sup> The stele tradition (*beixuepai*), or Stele School, remains vigorous today, frequently stimulated by the latest archaeological discoveries (fig. 9).

The history of collecting calligraphy and other works of Chinese art is complicated and fascinating. Over the centuries, both private and imperial collections were continually assembled and broken up. The fate of a particular work was determined by any number of factors, such as a collector's tastes, interests, or fortunes, the outcome of a conflict, and social and political circumstances.<sup>13</sup>

During the Eastern Jin dynasty (A.D. 317–420), calligraphy, painting, and art theory began to flourish. Wealthy and discriminating scholar-officials amassed the first large private collections of calligraphy and paintings, which were either on silk or paper. These collections of the elite laid the foundation for China's early imperial collections.

In the turbulent decades before and after the fall of the Qing dynasty (1644–1911), the last dynasty in China, internal strife and wars against various foreign invaders resulted in the dispersal of many rare and valuable objects in the imperial collection.<sup>14</sup> Irreplaceable works, part of China's cultural heritage, rapidly changed hands and in some cases found their way to collectors abroad. Still, as far as Chinese calligraphy is concerned, the largest concentrations of important works remain in China and Taiwan, primarily in national museum collections.<sup>15</sup> Outside China, major private and museum collections of Chinese calligraphy can be found in Japan and the United States.<sup>16</sup>

Among American collectors of Chinese art, only a handful have focused on calligraphy. The first major efforts to collect Chinese calligraphy were undertaken during the 1950s and 1960s by a small group of farsighted collectors, such as John M. Crawford Jr. and John B. Elliott.<sup>17</sup> They worked virtually alone in what was considered to be an unusual and esoteric field. Crawford's and Elliott's collections of rare calligraphy from the Song (A.D. 960–1279) and Yuan (1279–1368)

Fig. 7. Detail from *Daoist Scripture of Constant Purity and Tranquility*, Zhao Mengfu (1254–1322), small standard script, Yuan dynasty, ca. 1292, handscroll, ink on silk, 29 x 58 cm. Freer Gallery of Art, purchase, F1980.8.

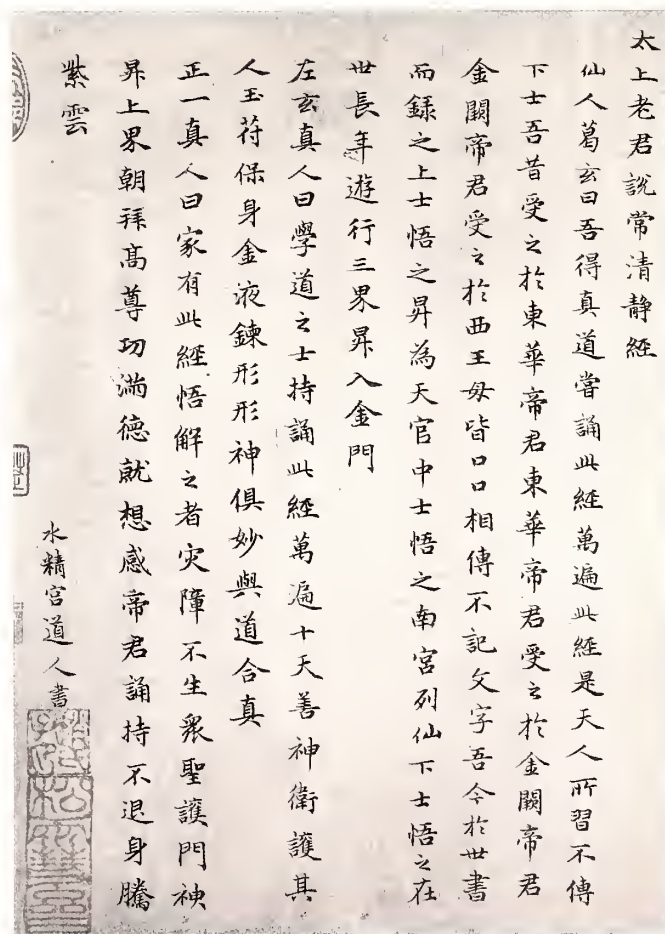
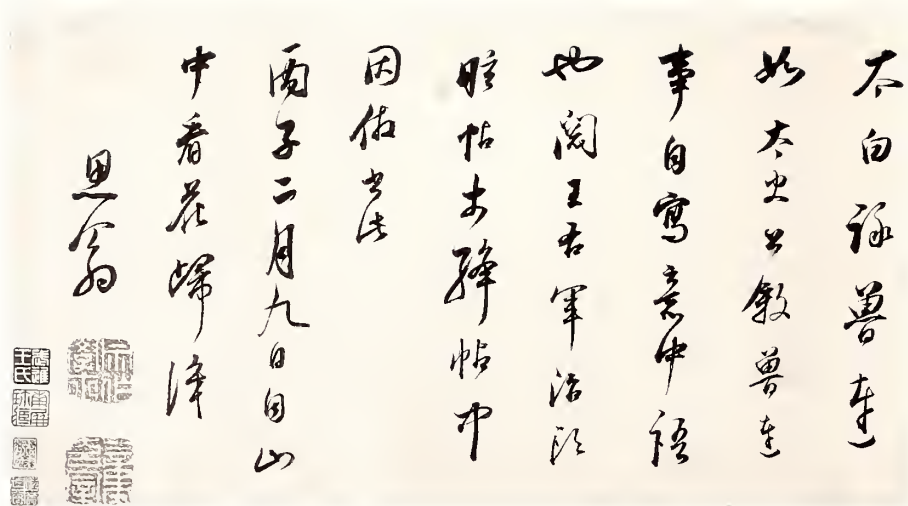


Fig. 8. Details from *Three Works after Wang Xizhi*, Dong Qichang (1555–1636), running script, Ming dynasty, 1636, handscroll, ink on paper, 25.1 x 305.1 cm. Freer Gallery of Art, purchase, F1982.3.



dynasties were especially impressive. In the late 1970s Robert Hatfield Ellsworth began assembling a relatively comprehensive collection of Chinese calligraphy from the last two hundred years.<sup>18</sup> Ellsworth also acquired an important collection of ancient Chinese and Korean Buddhist sutras and early rubbings of Chinese calligraphy.<sup>19</sup> Ellsworth's various collections of Chinese calligraphy are now playing a significant role in helping the Western world gain a more complete understanding of this great tradition.<sup>20</sup>

The Chinese calligraphy in Crawford's collection was part of his bequest to the Metropolitan Museum of Art in 1988. Elliott's calligraphy collection was bequeathed to the Art Museum at Princeton University in 1997. In the same year, Ellsworth gave forty-eight fine works of later Chinese calligraphy to the Freer

Gallery of Art. The following year, on the occasion of the Freer Gallery's seventy-fifth anniversary, Ellsworth generously donated additional works from his calligraphy collection to the museum.<sup>21</sup> The total gift of Chinese calligraphy from the Ellsworth collection consists of 260 works by 175 artists, including dated works ranging from 1789 to 1985. The collection represents all the major trends in modern Chinese calligraphy and most of the important and influential calligraphers. It is especially rich in examples of the stele tradition.

For this book, twenty outstanding works from the Ellsworth collection have been selected. They focus on three major

Fig. 9. Stelae on display in the Zhaoling Museum, Liquan County, Shaanxi Province, 1982. Photograph by Joseph Chang.





官奴小女玉潤病  
 來十餘日了不食  
 民知昨來忽發  
 痛又苦頭癱已  
 潰尚不足憂病  
 病少有差者憂  
 之樵心至不可言  
 此者報疾未之  
 有良由民為家  
 長不能懃備訓  
 化上下多犯科  
 誠以至於此民唯  
 歸誠待罪而已  
 上慙道德下負  
 先生夫復何言

右玉潤帖



groups: calligrapher-theorists, calligrapher-seal carvers, and calligrapher-collectors. Two painters and one of the great Chinese artists of recent times, a master of calligraphy, painting, and seal carving, are also included. Together, these works provide an overview of the stele tradition and its influence on seal carving.

The calligrapher-theorists' commentaries on calligraphy greatly influenced the approaches of other calligraphers. Often these scholars held positions as government officials. At the end of the eighteenth century, two such officials, Liu Yong (1720–1805) and Wang Wenzhi (1730–1802), took similar paths in their study and theory of calligraphy but achieved stylistic diversity (cat. nos. 1–2). Both initially followed the style of the Ming dynasty master Dong Qichang (1555–1636) and worked within the classical tradition. Wang Wenzhi continued to faithfully practice in Dong's manner, seeking a graceful presentation through the use of thin, pale ink. Liu Yong, however, ventured into the stele tradition toward the end of his life and expressed himself with thick, dark ink. Although he was widely regarded as one of the great practitioners of the model-letters tradition, Liu Yong's efforts in approaching and absorbing an entirely new canon in his later years indicates that the transition from the model-letters tradition to the stele tradition was quietly taking place.<sup>22</sup>

The scholar-official Ruan Yuan (1764–1849) was the most important and influential theorist of his time (cat. no. 3). His essays praising and promoting the stele tradition mark a major turning point in the aesthetic development of modern calligraphy. Following Dong Qichang's late-sixteenth-century classification of Chinese painting into Northern and Southern Schools, Ruan Yuan in the early nineteenth century divided calligraphy into Northern and

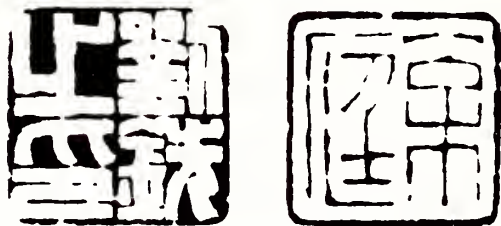


Fig. 10. Pair of seals and matching seal impressions, Qing dynasty, mid-19th century. Collection of Robert Hatfield Ellsworth. Zhao Zhiqian (1829–1884) carved the characters on the seals. Photograph by Shin Hada, courtesy of Robert H. Ellsworth.

Southern Schools.<sup>23</sup> The Southern School was characterized by the elegant and flowing writing style of the Two Wangs tradition. The Northern School, represented by the mostly unknown writers of ancient stelae, was characterized by the angular composition of individual characters and powerful brush movements.<sup>24</sup> Although his own training and practice were in the model-letters tradition, Ruan Yuan paved the way for the revival of the stele tradition.

As a youth, He Shaoji (1799–1873) studied the standard script of various Tang masters and the running script of the Two Wangs (cat. no. 4). In his late fifties, he diligently began copying Han dynasty stelae and inscriptions on ancient bronzes. Mastering two fundamentally different traditions in Chinese calligraphy, He Shaoji successfully made the transition from the model-letters tradition to the stele tradition.

In this group of four calligrapher-theorists, Wang Wenzhi well represents the model-letters tradition. Liu Yong, a master of the same tradition, approached the stele tradition in his later years. When Ruan Yuan published his important essays, it became evident that the trend in calligraphy was shifting from the model-letters to the stele tradition. He Shaoji made the final transition between these schools in the late nineteenth century.

From that point on, great calligraphers predominantly worked in the stele tradition.

Beginning in the nineteenth century, calligraphy, painting, and seal carving (fig. 10) have been considered the Three Perfections (*sanjue*) in the Chinese literati tradition. The great nineteenth- and twentieth-century masters of calligraphy in the stele tradition, for example, were seal carvers and painters as well. The unique art of seal carving, however, has received scant attention in the Western world.<sup>25</sup> Like calligraphy and painting, seal carving has its own history of stylistic development.

In ancient China, calligraphic writing appeared not only on bronze vessels and stone stelae but also on seals. The earliest seals date to the Shang dynasty (ca. 1600–1050 B.C.).<sup>26</sup> Ancient seals, largely made of metal or jade, were most often used for identification. They usually bear either personal names or official titles. The use of seals broadened during the Tang and Song dynasties, when a more literary content, such as poetry and aphorisms, became popular. Literati artists first became involved in designing the texts for seals during the Song and Yuan dynasties, though they were still not much engaged in the actual carving. In the Ming dynasty, about the mid-sixteenth century, literati artists found a regular supply of soft stone for making seals, and they began involving themselves directly in both seal design and carving. The art of seal carving gradually entered a new phase. Distinct regional and individual styles began emerging and evolving. When eighteenth- and nineteenth-century artists synthesized the twin arts of calligraphy and seal carving, their creative achievements elevated them above the masters of the past. In this book, ten master calligrapher-seal carvers represent the two major schools of seal carving—the Zhejiang School (*Zhepai*) and the Anhui School (*Wanpai*)—as well as individual approaches that cannot be strictly placed in either school.

From the early eighteenth century to the mid-nineteenth century, a group of outstanding seal carvers worked in Hangzhou, Zhejiang Province. Known as the Eight Masters of Xiling, they are divided into the Early Four Masters and Later Four Masters.<sup>27</sup> Represented in this book are Jiang Ren (1743–1795) and Xi Gang (1746–1803) of the Early Four Masters and Chen Hongshou (1768–1822) and Zhao Zhichen (1781–1852) of the Later Four Masters (cat. nos. 5–8). In their designs, Zhejiang School masters preferred to use the seal script found on Han seals. They made multiple short cuts to create slight zigzag edges along each stroke that resemble the damage and erosion of texts found on Han stelae.

Fig. 11. Seal impression (top) and rubbings of side inscriptions from an undated seal carved by Zhao Zhiqian (1829–1884).



The seals of Jiang Ren were among the first to show the recognizable traits that would become known as benchmarks of the Zhejiang School.<sup>28</sup>

Jiang Ren's couplet in running script from 1789 is the earliest dated work of calligraphy in the Ellsworth collection. His writing has a strong structure and graceful rhythm, indicating his solid training in the standard script style of the Tang masters and the running script style of the Two Wangs. Xi Gang's smooth brushwork in clerical script is closer to the regular Tang style than to the loose Han style.

Chen Hongshou and Zhao Zhichen of the Later Four Masters combined their styles for calligraphy and seal carving. They both worked under Ruan Yuan, the calligraphy theorist and advocate of the stele tradition. Perhaps because of Ruan's influence, both Chen and Zhao were deeply involved in the study of ancient script. The highly personal style of their clerical script—even idiosyncratic in Chen's case—indicates that they had gone beyond the usual imitation of Han clerical script.

Deng Shiru (1743–1805), Wu Xizai (1799–1870), Zhao Zhiqian (1829–1884), and Xu Sangeng (1826–1890) are among the masters of the Anhui School (cat. nos. 9–12). Unlike the masters of Zhejiang School, who were imitating the worn and awkward appearance of Han stelae, the Anhui masters explored the elegant and exquisite compositions of ancient seal script through their calligraphy and carving.

Deng Shiru, the founder of the Anhui School, was regarded as the most skillful seal carver in the Qing dynasty. He practiced

all types of script in his calligraphy. One of Deng's early calligraphy works, "Commentary on the Judgment" for Hexagram Forty-six, is in the small seal script style of the *Kuaiji shike* stele. The text for the stele was written by Li Si (died 208 B.C.) of the Qin dynasty (221–206 B.C.).<sup>29</sup> Li assisted the first emperor of China, Shihuangdi

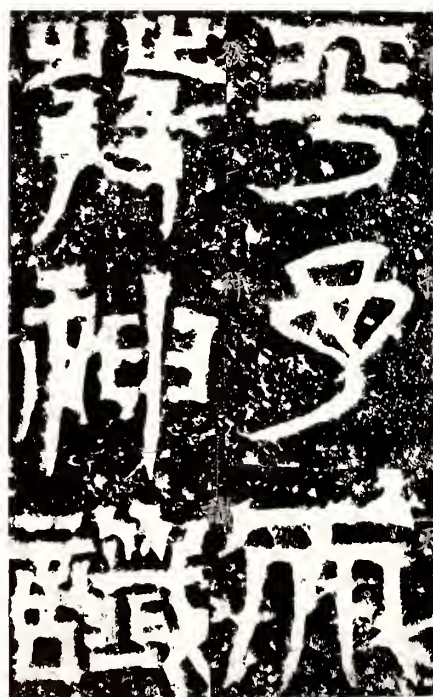


Fig. 12. Detail from a Ming dynasty (1368–1644) rubbing of the *Tianfa shenchan bei* (Stele of the divine prognostication sent from heaven), Wu kingdom, A.D. 276, clerical-seal script. Collection of Robert Hatfield Ellsworth.

(reigned 221–210 B.C.), in unifying and simplifying older forms of writing into what became known as small seal script. While Deng Shiru followed the rigid symmetrical structure of each character faithfully, he softened the iron-wire strokes with a somewhat light, wet ink.

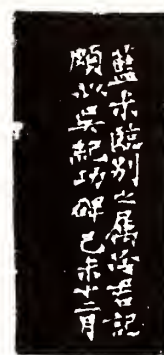
Both Wu Xizai and Zhao Zhiqian were deeply influenced by Deng Shiru. Wu Xizai's mastery of both seal and clerical scripts allowed him to blend the two subtly into his seal design. Wu's clerical script does not imitate the effect of erosion on stelae. Instead, it is written in a smooth and delicate manner, the style of which may have derived from the *Cao Quan bei*, a relatively uneroded Han dynasty stele that was carved in A.D. 185 and rediscovered in the late sixteenth century.<sup>30</sup>

Zhao Zhiqian was an exceptionally creative artist in both calligraphy and seal carving. He used various kinds of newly excavated objects as sources of inspiration. His writing in the style of *Weibei*, a fifth- to early-sixth-century version of standard script, embodies a strong sense of individuality, and he was unique in adopting it for his seals (fig. 11).

Zhao Zhiqian and Xu Sangeng first took Zhejiang masters as their models for seal carving, but they eventually developed the elegant style characteristic of the Anhui School. They were greatly inspired by a unique stele of the Three Kingdoms period (A.D. 220–280), the *Tiaufa shenchau bei* (fig. 12), carved in A.D. 276 with a powerful calligraphic style blending seal and clerical scripts.<sup>31</sup> While the basic structure of each character is symmetrical, as in seal script, the strokes are angular and pointed, as in clerical script. Both Zhao Zhiqian and Xu Sangeng adopted the style for their seal designs (fig. 13), and Xu's calligraphy also derived mostly from this stele. Xu personalized the style by using striking elongated ending strokes.

During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Wu Changshuo (1844–1927) and Qi Baishi (1864–1957) are perhaps the artists most worthy of note (cat. nos. 13–14). These two masters took similar paths in learning seal carving, starting in the style of the Zhejiang School but then turning to the Anhui masters for inspiration. In their calligraphy, they each focused on a specific ancient stele to establish a vivid individual style, which was later also used for seal carving. Wu devoted his life to studying the earliest extant stone inscription, *Shigu wen*, created between the eighth and third centuries B.C.<sup>32</sup> He subtly transformed and personalized this dignified ancient script. Qi favored

Fig. 13. Seal impression (top) and rubbing of side inscription from a seal carved in 1859 by Zhao Zhiqian (1829–1884).



the *Si saugoushan bei*, carved in A.D. 117 in a style with characteristics of both seal and clerical scripts.<sup>33</sup>

Although the stele tradition has dominated modern Chinese calligraphy, the model-letters tradition continues to be practiced. The geographical trend of *beibei nantie*, “stele in the north and model letters in the south,” can still be found among contemporary artists. Two typical examples are Li Keran (1907–1989) and Lu Yanshao (1909–1993), renowned painters who were also accomplished calligraphers (cat. nos. 15–16).

In contemporary Chinese painting, Li Keran and Lu Yanshao have long enjoyed recognition as *bei Li nan Lu*, “Li of the north and Lu of the south.” Li Keran studied with Qi Baishi, who greatly influenced Li’s development as an artist.<sup>34</sup> Li Keran’s calligraphy followed the stele tradition. He used solid, squarish structures with thick, dark ink, echoing the erosion of an ancient stele. On the other hand, Lu Yanshao executed his running script with a flowing, calm rhythm, indicating his adherence to the model-letters tradition.<sup>35</sup>

The Ellsworth collection also contains works by several individuals who were primarily famous as collectors and connoisseurs, including Wu Yun (1811–1883), Chen Jieqi (1813–1884), and Duanfang (1861–1911). In fact, a number of Chinese antiquities in the Freer Gallery’s collection were once owned by some of these calligrapher-collectors. As a result, the museum is now able to exhibit the collectors’ own calligraphy together with examples of works from their former collections.

Wu Yun and Chen Jieqi were enthusiasts of ancient writings (cat. nos. 17–18). Wu was so proud to possess more than two hundred rubbings of Wang Xizhi’s masterpiece *Lauting ji xu* (Preface to gathering at the Orchid Pavilion) that he named his studio *Erbai lauting zhai* (Studio of the two hundred rubbings of Orchid Pavilion). Chen Jieqi once owned a famous bronze vessel of the Western Zhou period (1050–771 B.C.) known as the *Maogong ding*. It bears an inscription of 497 characters, the longest found on a single vessel.<sup>36</sup> Wu Yun and Chen Jieqi also shared an interest in collecting ancient seals, and both published their impressive collections.<sup>37</sup> Duanfang put together an exceptional collection of ancient bronze vessels, stone carvings, and other works (cat. no. 19). With the help of prominent scholars, he published several catalogues of his collection. In their calligraphy, all three of these collectors were often inspired by objects they owned.

Finally, Huang Binhong (1865–1955) embodied much of the development of later Chinese calligraphy (cat. no. 20). A master of

the Three Perfections of calligraphy, painting, and seal carving, he is recognized as one of the most innovative painters in the modern era. He was also a scholar, collector, and connoisseur.<sup>38</sup> Huang Binhong's unique style in calligraphy and seal carving mainly derived from his in-depth studies of seal script cast on ancient bronzes.

Robert Hatfield Ellsworth took great care in assembling, researching, and cataloguing his treasured collection of later Chinese calligraphy. His generous gift to the Freer Gallery of Art, where new audiences will be able to discover this beautiful and multi-faceted art form, exemplifies the calligraphy couplet by the eminent collector-connoisseur Wu Yun:<sup>39</sup>

I shall forever protect the ancient bronzes in my possession,  
Carefully store the famous calligraphy and paintings I own.

1. For a brief description of the five major script types, see Robert E. Harrist Jr. and Wen C. Fong, *The Embodied Image: Chinese Calligraphy from the John B. Elliott Collection* (Princeton: Princeton University, 1999), pp. xvi–xvii. The Chinese names for the script types are *zhuanshu* 篆書 (seal script), *lishu* 隸書 (clerical script), *caoshu* 草書 (cursive script), *xingshu* 行書 (running script), and *kaishu* 楷書 (standard script).
2. For the earliest extant brush, see Li Zhaozhi 李兆志, *Zhongguo maobi* 中國毛筆 (Beijing: Xinhua chubanshe, 1994), pp. 6–9. For early traces of brush writing, see Sha Menghai 沙孟海, *Zhongguo shufashi tulu* 中國書法史圖錄 (Shanghai: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1991), 1:6, 8, 13.
3. Hua Rende 華人德, “Ping tiexue yu beixue” 評帖學與碑學, *Shufa yanjiu* 書法研究 69 (1996.1): p. 16.
4. Xiao Yanyi 蕭燕翼, “Shufa shilun santi” 書法史論三題, *Gugong bowuyuan yuankan* 故宮博物院院刊 (*Palace Museum Journal*) 41, no. 3 (1988): pp. 42–55.
5. For Tang copies of the calligraphy of the Two Wangs and their relatives, see Hui Lai Ping 許禮平, ed., *Wang Xizhi: Wansui tongtian tie* 王羲之: 萬歲通天帖, *Mingjia hanmo congkan: Zhongguo mingjia fashu quanji* 名家翰墨叢刊: 中國名家法書全集, vol. C5 (Hong Kong: Han Mo Xuan Publishing Co., 1997).
6. Amy McNair, “The Engraved Model-letters Compendia of the Song Dynasty,” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 114, no. 2 (April–June 1994): pp. 209–25.
7. Wen Fong, “The Wang Hsi-chih Tradition and Its Relationship to Tang and Sung Calligraphy,” in *The International Seminar on Chinese Calligraphy in Memory of Yen Chen-ch'ing' 1200th Posthumous Anniversary* (Taipei: Council for Cultural Planning and Development, Executive Yuan, 1987), pp. 249–66.
8. For Zhao Mengfu's calligraphy, see Wang Lianqi 王連起, “Zhao Mengfu shufa yishu jianlun” 趙孟頫書法藝術簡論, in *Zhao Mengfu guoji shuxue yantaohui lunwen ji* 趙孟頫國際書學研討會論文集 (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian, 1994), pp. 116–26. For Dong Qichang's calligraphy, see Xu Bangda, “Tung Ch'i-ch'ang's Calligraphy,” in *The Century of Tung Ch'i-ch'ang 1555–1636*, ed. Wai-kam Ho (Kansas City: Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, 1992), 1:105–32.
9. Zhu Jianxin 朱劍心, *Jinshi xue* 金石學 (1940; reprint, Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1981), pp. 12–53.
10. Bai Qianshen, “‘Dreaming of a Stele’: Visiting Steles in the Early Qing and Its Relation to the Stele School of Calligraphy” (paper presented at Chinese Art of the Ming and Ch'ing Dynasties: An International Symposium Held in Conjunction with the Exhibition *Splendors of Imperial China: Treasures from the National Palace Museum, Taipei*, Art Institute of Chicago, July 28, 1996), p. 17.
11. Art historians often refer to this period as the Revival of the Daoguang (1821–51) and Xianfeng (1851–62) Reigns (*Dao Xian zhongxing* 道咸中興). Xue Yongnian 薛永年, “Qingdai shuhua zhuanke yinlun” 清代書畫篆刻引論, *Meishu yanjiu* 美術研究 75, no. 3 (1994): p. 16.
12. See Xiao Yanyi, “Shufa shilun santi,” pp. 50–55.
13. For a brief history of collecting Chinese calligraphy and painting, see Yang Renkai 楊仁愷, *Guobao chenfū lu: Gugong sanqi shuhua jianwen kaolüe* 國寶沉浮錄: 故宮散佚書畫見聞考略 (Shanghai: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1991), pp. 1–54.
14. See Chang Lin-sheng, “The National Palace Museum: A History of the Collection,” in Wen C. Fong and James C. Y. Watt, *Possessing the Past: Treasures from the National Palace Museum, Taipei* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art and National Palace Museum, Taipei, 1966), pp. 3–25.
15. For works of calligraphy in China, see *Zhongguo gudai shuhua tumu* 中國古代書畫圖目 (Illustrated catalogue of selected works of ancient Chinese painting and calligraphy), vols. 1–19 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1986–99). For major works of calligraphy in Taiwan, see *Gugong shuhua lu* 故宮書畫錄, vol. 1, rev. ed. (Taipei: Guoli gugong bowuyuan, 1965).
16. In Japan, important works of Chinese calligraphy are in the collection of several major museums, such as the Tokyo National Museum, Kyoto National Museum, and Osaka Municipal Museum. For Chinese calligraphy in the West, see Nakata Yujiro 中田勇次郎 and Fu Shen 傅申, eds., *Ōbei shūzō Chūgoku hōsho meiseki shū* 歐米收藏中國法書名蹟集 (*Masterpieces of Chinese Calligraphy in American and European Collections*), 6 vols. (Tokyo: Chuokoron-sha, 1981–83).
17. For John M. Crawford Jr.'s collection, see Kwan S. Wong, *Masterpieces of Sung and Yuan Dynasty Calligraphy from the John M. Crawford Jr. Collection* (New York: China Institute in America, 1981); and *The John M. Crawford, Jr., Collection of Chinese Calligraphy and Painting in*



the Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1984). For John B. Elliott's collection, see Harrist and Fong, *The Embodied Image*.

18. Robert Hatfield Ellsworth, *Later Chinese Painting and Calligraphy: 1800–1950*, 3 vols. (New York: Random House, 1986).

19. For Ellsworth's collection of sutra fragments, see *An Exhibition of Chinese and Korean Sūtra Manuscripts: From the Collection of Robert Hatfield Ellsworth* (*Meiguo Niuyueshi An Siyuan xiansheng suocang lidai fojiao xiejing zhan* 美國紐約市安思遠先生所藏歷代佛教寫經展) (Hong Kong: Fung Ping Shan Museum, University of Hong Kong, 1987). For his collection of rubbings, see *An Siyuan cang shanben beitie xuan* 安思遠藏善本碑帖選 (*The Chunhuage nie and Rare Rubbings from the Collection of Robert Hatfield Ellsworth*) (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1996).

20. In addition to the collections of Crawford, Elliott, and Ellsworth, H. Christopher Luce's collection also stands out. See H. Christopher Luce, *Abstraction and Expression in Chinese Calligraphy* (New York: China Institute in America, 1995).

21. Thomas Lawton and Thomas W. Lentz, *Beyond the Legacy: Anniversary Acquisitions for the Freer Gallery of Art and the Arthur M. Sackler Gallery* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1998), pp. 256–61.

22. Zhang Guangbin 張光賓, *Zhonghua shufa shi* 中華書法史 (Taipei: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1981), p. 305.

23. For Ruan Yuan's two important essays, "Nanbei shupai lun" 南北書派論 and "Beibei nantie lun" 北碑南帖論, see *Lidai shufa lunwen xuan* 歷代書法論文選 (Shanghai: Shanghai shuhua chubanshe, 1981), pp. 629–37.

24. For an analysis of the discrepancies in Ruan Yuan's theory, see Li Yuzhou 李郁周, *Nanbeichao shuti ji yi beitie luafen shutishuo zhi yanjiu* 南北朝書體及以碑帖畫分書體說之研究 (Taipei: Sih dongwu daxue zhongguo xueshu zhuzuo jiangzhu weiyuanhui, 1982).

25. See Jason C. Kuo, *Word as Image: The Art of Chinese Engraving* (New York: China Institute in America, 1992); and Qianshen Bu and John Finlay, "The World Within a Square Inch: Modern Developments in Seal Carving," *Yale University Art Gallery Bulletin* (1993): pp. 27–63.

26. Wang Beiyue 王北岳, *Zhuanke yishu* 篆刻藝術 (1985; reprint, Taipei: Hanguang wenhua shiye gufen youxian gongsi, 1992), p. 19.

27. For the Early Four Masters, see *Xiling sijia yinpu* 西泠四家印譜 (Hangzhou: Xiling yinshe, 1979). For the Later Four Masters, see *Xiling housijia yinpu* 西泠後四家印譜 (Hangzhou: Xiling yinshe, 1982).

28. Luo Shuzi 羅叔子, "Shilun 'Xiling sijia' de zhuanke yishu" 試論《西泠四家》的篆刻藝術, *Xiling yicon* 西泠藝叢 2 (April 1980): pp. 6–8.

29. For *Kuaji shike* 會稽石刻, see Chong Shan 崇善 and Zhou Zhigao 周志高, *Qin Han shike de zhuanke yishu* 秦漢石刻的篆書 (Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1982), pp. 10–11, 34, 37.

30. For *Cao Qian bei* 曹全碑, see *An Siyuan cang shanben beitie xuan*, pp. 92–95.

31. *Ibid.*, pp. 83–87.

32. *Ibid.*, pp. 96–100.

33. For *Si sangongshan bei* 祀三公山碑, see Sha Menghai, *Zhongguo shufashi tu*, 1:157.

34. Wan Qingli 萬青力, *Li Keran pingzhuan* 李可染評傳 (Taipei: Xiongshi tushu gufen youxian gongsi, 1995), pp. 95–98.

35. For Lu Yanshao's calligraphy training, see his autobiography *Lu Yanshao zixu* 陸儼少自敘 (Shanghai: Shanghai shuhua chubanshe, 1986).

36. Sha Menghai, *Zhongguo shufashi tu*, 1:28, 41; and Yu Jianhua 俞劍華, *Zhongguo meishujia renming cidian* 中國美術家人名辭典 (Shanghai: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1981), p. 990.

37. For Wu Yun's collection, see *Erhai lanting zhai gutongyin can* 二百蘭亭齋古銅印存 (Hangzhou: Xiling yinshe, 1983). For Chen Jieqi's collection, see *Shizhong shanfang yinjin* 十鐘山房印舉 (Hanfenlou 涵芬樓 edition).

38. For Huang Binhong's various artistic achievements, see *Mohai qingshan: Huang Binhong yanjiu lunwen ji* 墨海青山: 黃賓虹研究論文集 (Jinan: Shandong jiaoyu chubanshe, 1988).

39. The calligraphy couplet is a major format in the Ellsworth collection. For the calligraphy couplet and its growing acceptance as a major literary and visual form starting in the early Qing period, see Cary Y. Liu, "Calligraphic Couplets as Manifestations of Deities and Markers of Buildings," in Harrist and Fong, *The Embodied Image*, pp. 360–79, especially p. 368.



# *Catalogue*

**Text and translations by  
Stephen D. Allee**

Twenty works selected from the  
Gift of Robert Hatfield Ellsworth in honor of the  
75th Anniversary of the Freer Gallery of Art

Couplet,  
in running script

劉墉 行書 對聯

Liu Yong (1720–1805)

Qing dynasty, late 18th century

Pair of hanging scrolls; ink on painted,  
sized paper

each 173.2 x 31.4 cm

F1997.45.1–2

海鴻戲墨朝臨帖，  
藜火凌雲夜校書。  
石菴

*Playing with ink like a goose over the sea, I copy rubbings at dawn,  
Walking-stick flames soar into the clouds as I collate texts at night.<sup>2</sup>*

*Shi'an*

Liu Yong was born into a prominent political family from Zhucheng, Shandong Province. His father, Liu Tongxun (1700–1773), achieved the pinnacle of government service, the prime ministerial rank of grand secretary, which he occupied from 1761 to 1773 under the Qianlong emperor (reigned 1735–96). Liu Yong passed the national examinations (*jinshi*) in 1751 and embarked on a successful official career, which was marred only briefly by the occasional demotions that often attended public service in the imperial system. Over the years Liu Yong rose steadily in the esteem of the emperor and was promoted to the uppermost ranks of government, where he managed to avoid entanglement in the factional intrigues and material profligacy of the late-Qianlong court by scrupulously maintaining the highest standards of ethical conduct and personal integrity. In 1797, at the age of seventy-seven, Liu Yong himself

was selected as grand secretary by the newly ascended Jiaqing emperor (reigned 1796–1820). He remained in that lofty position until his death on January 24, 1805.<sup>3</sup>

Liu Yong was one of the most influential calligraphers of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. He was a leader of the model-letters tradition (*tiexuepai*), which primarily took its inspiration from famous early calligraphers whose works had been carved on stone blocks and reproduced as books of rubbings. The study and emulation of such model texts had been promoted by the great Ming dynasty artist and art historian Dong Qichang (1555–1636), whose own works and theoretical writings were favored by the Kangxi emperor (reigned 1661–1722) of the early Qing dynasty. Dong Qichang's approach exerted an enormous impact on the practice of Qing dynasty calligraphy, particularly among artists such as Liu Yong

ARTIST SEALS

*Yu ci: Haidai gao mendì*<sup>1</sup>

御賜海岱高門第 rectangle intaglio and  
relief, with a pair of dragons

*Liu Yong siyin* 劉墉私印 square intaglio

*Shi'an* 石菴 square relief

COLLECTOR SEALS

*An Siyuan zhencang ji*<sup>\*</sup>

安思遠珍藏記 square relief

*An Siyuan jianshang yin*<sup>\*</sup>

安思遠鑒賞印 rectangle relief

who were closely involved with government and the court.

Liu Yong is best known for his works in standard script and running script, which adhere to and elaborate on the paradigms established by the model-letters tradition. During the early stages of his artistic development, he took Dong Qichang and, through him, the Yuan dynasty calligrapher Zhao Mengfu (1254–1322) as his primary models. In his middle years, he mainly emulated the style of Su Shi (A.D. 1037–1101) and began to incorporate elements derived from a wide range of other early masters, such as Zhong You (A.D. 151–230) and Yan Zhenqing (A.D. 709–785). Unlike many adherents of the model-letters tradition, Liu Yong did not feel constrained to follow established models slavishly. Instead, he absorbed the strong points of each individual master and style and adapted them to create a formulation that was entirely his own. About the age of seventy, he made the acquaintance of Deng Shiru (1743–1805; cat. no. 9) and became interested in the Stele School (*beixupai*), which was then in the early stages of its development. Despite his advancing years, Liu continued to experiment with new ideas and approaches until his death.<sup>4</sup>

Liu Yong was a prolific calligrapher, and his surviving works are both numerous and widely dispersed, particularly those from his middle and late periods. This excellent example of Liu's running script shows the forceful attack, heavy use of ink, and subtle blend of thin and thick brushstrokes that are typical of his mature style.



Balance and spacing are carefully maintained and the somewhat plump characters are rendered with his usual unadorned elegance and simplicity. To achieve the effect he desired, Liu generally employed thick ink and a hard brush made of long hairs and often chose to write on sized paper that was sometimes decorated with painted or printed designs. These

stylistic and aesthetic preferences are particularly noticeable in works he created specifically for formal display, such as the couplet seen here.<sup>5</sup>

The collection of the Freer Gallery of Art contains four other independent works of calligraphy by Liu Yong, all written in running script: F1980.4 (hanging scroll, 1798), F1982.6 (hanging scroll), F1998.86.1–4 (four album leaves), and F1998.87 (hanging scroll).

Poem,  
in running script

王文治 行書  
五言律詩 軸

Wang Wenzhi (1730–1802)

Qing dynasty, late 18th century

Hanging scroll; ink on paper

178.7 × 44.9 cm

F1997-43

丹樓天外時，皓月空中行，銀濤與玉魄，相迸作光明。  
樹暗漢江渡，雲低鄂渚城，不知何處笛，能作落梅聲。  
文治

*The vermilion tower juts into the sky,  
A gleaming moon travels the void.  
Silvery billows and this soul of jade,  
Intersperse to form a luminous glow.  
Trees are dark by the Han River ferry,  
Clouds lower on the walls of Ezhu.  
I do not know now where that flute is,  
Playing the tune of Falling Plums.*

Wenzhi

Born on December 25, 1730, in the town of Dantu, near modern Zhenjiang in Jiangsu Province, Wang Wenzhi was a precocious youth, winning local renown for both his poetry and calligraphy by the age of twelve. Having earned the licentiate degree (*bagong*) in 1753, he went to the capital the following year, where he formed lifelong friendships with a number of prominent artists and scholars. From 1756 to 1757 Wang accompanied an imperial mission to the kingdom of the Ryukyu Islands. In 1760 he earned countrywide recognition by finishing third in the national examinations (*jinshi*), and he received his first official appointment in 1762. Wang served in various low- to mid-level government positions in both the capital and provinces until 1767,

when he was dismissed as prefect of Lin'an in Yunnan Province owing to misconduct by subordinates. Wang Wenzhi abstained from government service thereafter, living in leisurely retirement and devoting himself largely to various literary and artistic pursuits. Ranked among the foremost poets of his generation, he made his living by teaching in various private educational institutions, becoming director of the famous Chongwen Academy (*Chongwen shuyuan*) in Hangzhou in 1771. An avid fan of Chinese opera, he maintained a private troupe of performers and assisted in an important compilation of musical drama. Wang was also a devout Buddhist throughout his life, and in 1779 he was formally ordained as a Chan (Japanese: Zen) priest. Wang Wenzhi died

ARTIST SEALS

*Shiye shanfang*<sup>6</sup> 柿葉山房 rectangle relief

*Wenzhang taishou* 文章太守 square intaglio

*Wenzhi siyin* 文治私印 square relief

COLLECTOR SEALS

*Yinxiangguan zhuren cang shuhua zhang* 吟香館主人藏書畫章 square relief

*Aidehu zhuren Hangong jiating* 愛德廬主人漢功鑒定 square relief

*Banxianghu zhuren Jiyunshi zhencang zhi yin* 瓣香廬主人驩雲氏珍藏之印 square relief

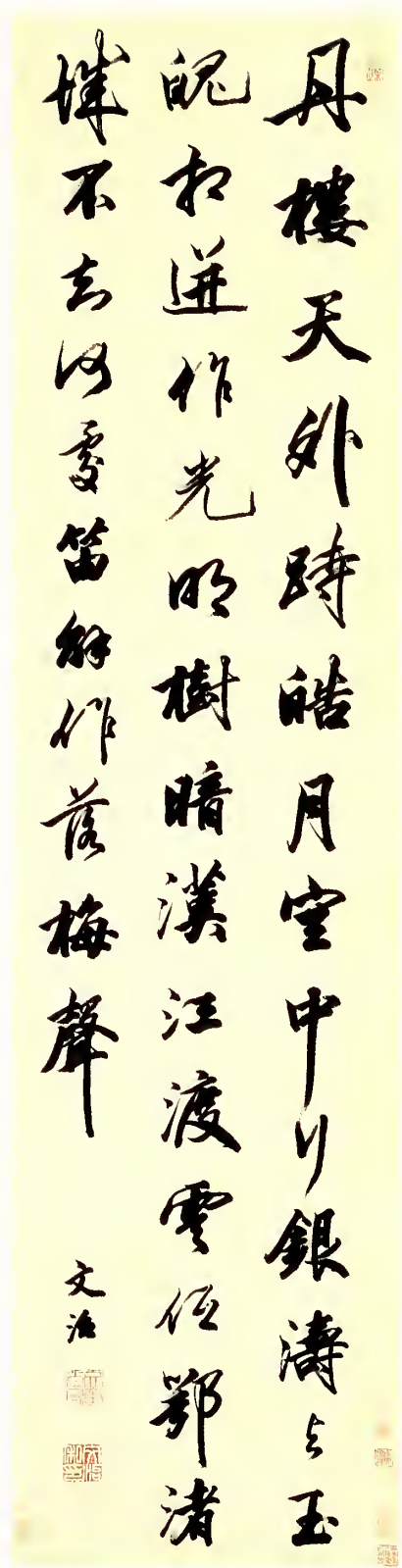
*Songbaohu cang*<sup>\*</sup> 松瀑廬藏 square relief

*An Siyan cang*<sup>\*</sup> 安思遠藏 square relief

on May 27, 1802, while peacefully absorbed in silent meditation.<sup>8</sup>

Along with his older contemporary Liu Yong (1720–1805; cat. no. 1), Wang Wenzhi was one of the most highly regarded calligraphers of his day, especially for his standard script and running script. Like Liu, he worked almost exclusively in the model-letters tradition (*tiexuepai*) as defined by the late Ming dynasty artist and art historian Dong Qichang (1555–1636). Reaching back for his models through Dong to Zhao Mengfu (1254–1322) and ultimately to Wang Xizhi (A.D. ca. 303–ca. 361) and his son Wang Xianzhi (A.D. 344–388), he synthesized various aspects of their calligraphy to create his own unique style. Although Wang Wenzhi and Liu Yong followed the same general path, their

styles are quite distinct in a number of respects. For example, Wang conformed more rigorously than Liu to the formal conventions for character formation and brushwork in the model-letters tradition. In contrast to Liu, who was renowned for his use of heavy black ink, Wang generally preferred to use pale gray ink. Wang Wenzhi may have lacked the versatility of his younger contemporaries in the budding Stele School (*beixuepai*), such as Deng Shiru (1743–1805; cat. no. 9), but his calligraphy, praised for its elegance and balance, stands without peer as the stylistic epitome of the model-letters tradition in the late eighteenth century. This hanging scroll, an excellent example of his running script, records one of Wang Wenzhi's own poems.<sup>9</sup>



Poem,  
in running script

阮元 行書  
雪浪石屏詩 軸

Ruan Yuan (1764–1849)

Qing dynasty, early to mid-19th century  
Hanging scroll; ink on gold-flecked paper  
164.5 x 40.7 cm  
F1997.52

太行石畫如雲屯，人巧不到天工尊。花石綱殘汴河凍，雪浪齋破寒雲昏。  
蘇公久別此石去，尚留銘字留荒村。黑水梁州玉斧劃，別有大理開國門。  
孫知微死八百載，點蒼山裏招其魂。畫家粉本入石骨，詩人魄力通天根。  
飛濤向天學雲白，古雪窖地變玉痕。片片幻出洱海浪，定州一卷非斷論。  
況此翻瀾激磯石，屏立不用蘇齋盆。齋前梅花亦香雪，目擊雪子吾道存。

雪浪石屏，用坡公雪浪石韻：元脩年兄鑒之。伯元

*Picture stones from Taihang look like crowding clouds,  
Human craft cannot achieve the majesty of Heaven's art.  
The flower-and-stone convoys ended and Biau River froze,  
Snow Wave Studio was destroyed, winter clouds grew dark.*

*Master Su is long departed and his stone is gone as well,  
The inscription that still remains, remains in a desolate town.  
Along Black Water in Liangzhou, a jade axe drew the line,  
And the sovereign kingdom of Dali opened its national gates.*

*Sun Zhiwei has been dead now for some eight hundred years,  
But into the Diancang Mountains his soul was summoned back.  
The painter's powdered drawing entered the bones of the rock,  
The spiritual force of the poet penetrated the roots of Heaven.*

*Breakers soaring up to Heaven copied the whiteness of clouds,  
Ancient snows immured in earth transformed to scars of jade.  
On slice after slice, the waves of Erhai magically appeared,  
That single swell from Dingzhou was not the final say.*

*Moreover these toppling waves crashing on the quay,  
Stand like a screen and do not use the basin of Su Shi.  
The plum blossoms before my studio seem like fragrant snow,  
One glance at Master Suow, and my Way is there before me.<sup>10</sup>*

*"Snow Wave Stone Screen," using the rhymes of "The Snow Wave Stone"  
by Master Po [Su Shi]; [written] for my "elder brother" Yuaxin to inspect.*

Boyan<sup>11</sup>

ARTIST SEALS

Ruan Yuan yin 阮元印 square relief

Yanjing laoren 擘經老人 square relief

COLLECTOR SEALS

Shuimo shanzhuang\* 水磨山莊

rectangle intaglio

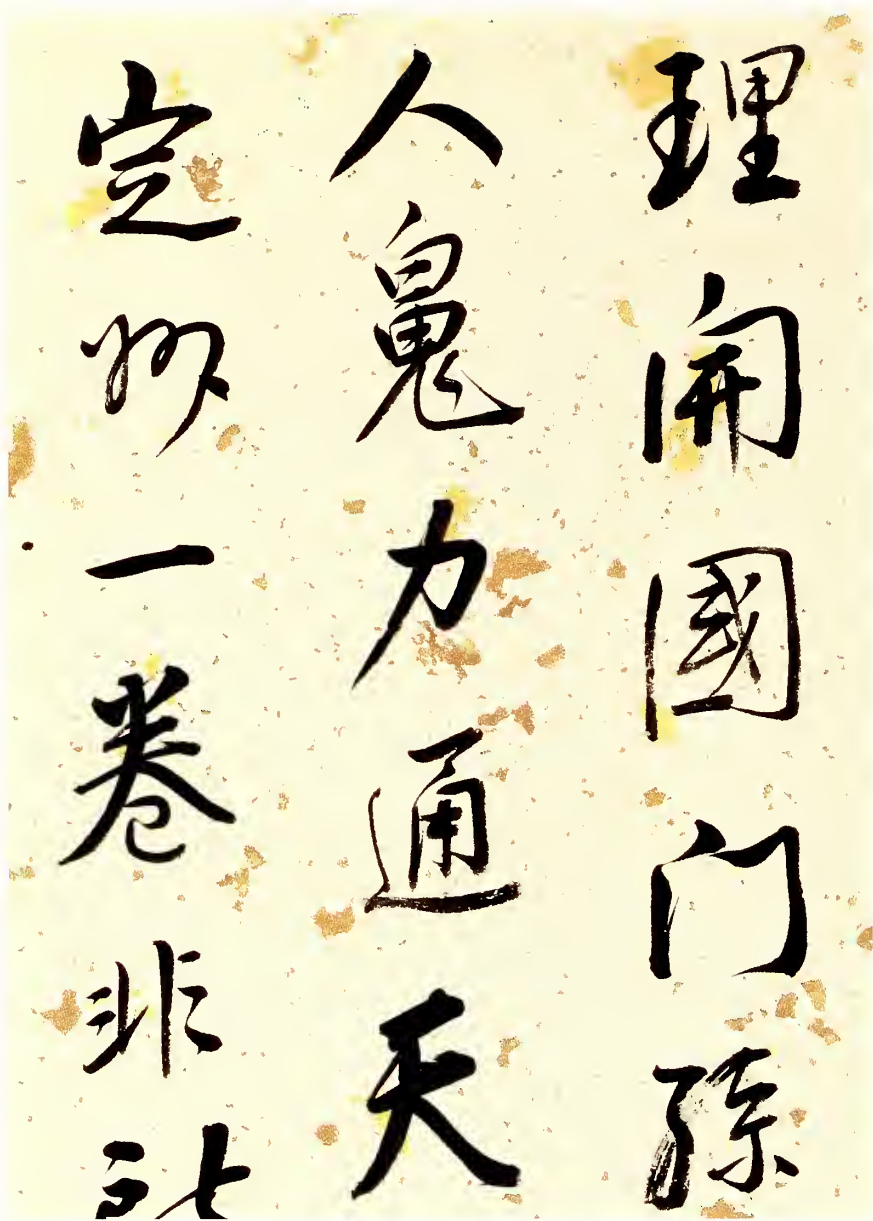
An Siyuan cang\* 安思遠藏 rectangle relief

Songbaolu cang\* 松瀑廬藏 square relief



太行石盡以雪屯人巧不到天工尊花石網殘汴河凍雪浪齋破窳重  
昏莽公久別此石去為留銘字留荒却黑水梁州玉斧剗別有大  
理開國門孫知微死八百載點蒼山裡招其魂畫家粉本入石骨詩  
人鬼力通天根飛濤向天學雪白古雪窖地變玉痕片片幻出洱海  
定似一卷非沙論况此翻淘激礪石屏立不用存齋盤高前梅花亦香  
雪目擊雪子吾道存 雪浪石屏用坡公雪浪石韻 元脩年元肇

伯元



Detail, running script by Ruan Yuan.

As he indicated in his postscript, Ruan Yuan composed this twenty-line poem to follow the same rhyme scheme as an earlier verse, “The Snow Wave Stone,” by the famous Song dynasty poet Su Shi (A.D. 1037–1101), who also wrote a rhymed inscription on the subject.<sup>12</sup> The topic of Ruan’s poem is a “picture stone” (*shihua*) from the Dali area of Yunnan Province, where he once served as governor. The term *picture stone* refers to various kinds of marble that, when cut into slabs, exhibit natural

markings and patterns resembling landscapes, flowing water, clouds and mist, or other natural features of terrain and weather. Generally known as “dreamstones” in the West, picture stones are often mounted and displayed like paintings in standing or hanging frames.

An exceptionally erudite scholar, Ruan Yuan was one of the most important and influential figures in the cultural and intellectual milieu of early nineteenth-century China. Born February 21, 1764, in Yizheng, Jiangsu

Province, a large town on the Yangzi River near the city of Yangzhou, he pursued a highly successful official career both at court and in the provinces. Ruan passed the national examinations (*jinshi*) in 1789 and then served in the prestigious Hanlin Academy and the Imperial Library, where he was one of ten editors charged with compiling supplements to the catalogue of the imperial collections of painting and calligraphy. After 1793 Ruan Yuan spent most of his long career in the provinces. He was governor of Zhejiang for nine years (1799–1807, 1808–9) and subsequently passed through a series of other high-level provincial appointments. In 1812 he was appointed director-general for grain transport in Huai’an, Jiangsu Province. In 1814 he became governor of Jiangxi Province. He was transferred to the position of governor-general for Hubei and Hunan Provinces in 1816. Beginning in 1817 he spent nine years as governor-general of Guangdong and Guangxi Provinces, serving concurrently after 1818 as governor of Guangdong. From 1826 to 1835, Ruan Yuan was governor-general of Yunnan and Guizhou Provinces. In 1832, while still in Yunnan, Ruan was made an assistant grand secretary. Upon his return to the capital in 1835, he was elevated to the prime-ministerial rank of grand secretary. Two years later he petitioned the throne to retire, and in 1838 Ruan Yuan was allowed to return home to Yangzhou, where he spent the remaining eleven years of his life. He died on November 27, 1849.<sup>13</sup>

Starting in his earliest years as an official, Ruan Yuan actively

pursued his own scholarly interests and supported those of others wherever he was posted. His patronage exerted a profound influence on the intellectual development and artistic direction of many of his contemporaries. Education and scholarship remained a lifelong priority for Ruan, and over the years he created and strengthened several institutions of higher learning.<sup>14</sup> Some of Ruan's massive compilation and printing projects, most especially provincial gazetteers and the Confucian classics, also allowed him to employ and promote numerous talented scholars. Even a short list of Ruan Yuan's most important literary and scholarly contributions covers an unusually broad spectrum of subject matter. During his lifetime, Ruan published some fifty-five volumes (*juan*) of his own poetry and short prose, along with a num-

ber of specialized monographs and several collections of his miscellaneous notes on sundry topics. In addition, he variously wrote, annotated, edited, compiled, collated, sponsored, or printed an extraordinary number of multivolume works, including dictionaries, rare books, critical commentaries on the Confucian classics, anthologies of Qing dynasty poetry, bibliographical research, painting and calligraphy analysis and commentary, local history, mathematics and its history, and epigraphy. Many of these compilations established new benchmarks in scholarship and immediately became definitive reference works in their respective fields. Ruan Yuan also published two important theoretical essays on the evolution of calligraphic scripts and styles, dividing their historical development, as the great Ming scholar Dong Qichang (1555–1636) had previously done for the history of Chinese painting, into Northern and Southern Schools, each with a distinct lineage of masters.<sup>15</sup>

Ruan Yuan's own calligraphy closely reflects his scholarly interests and pursuits. He produced numerous works in various styles of seal script, clerical script, and standard script. But most frequently encountered are his works in running script, as seen in this scroll. In general, Ruan's running script falls firmly within the formal model-letters tradition (*tiexuepai*) as defined by Dong Qichang and favored by the Qing dynasty court. Reflecting more of a scholarly than an artistic sense of style, this scroll is an excellent example of

Ruan's limber, if somewhat conventional, approach.<sup>16</sup>

Among Ruan Yuan's many diverse interests, marble picture stones from Dali in Yunnan Province occupied a special position. An avid collector, he wrote a book on the subject in 1832 while governor of Yunnan and inscribed many of the stones in his collection with appropriate poetic texts.<sup>17</sup>



Detail, signature and seals of Ruan Yuan.

Couplet,  
in running script

何紹基 行書 對聯

He Shaoji (1799–1873)

Qing dynasty, mid-19th century

Pair of hanging scrolls; ink on colored paper

each 192.6 x 37 cm

F1998.132.1–2

古硯坡陔麝煤綠，  
小山蔥蘢石盆寒。  
何紹基

*On the sloping banks of the ancient inkstone, the musk-scented ink is green;  
Around the miniature mountain verdant with growth, the stone basin is cold.*<sup>18</sup>

He Shaoji

He Shaoji is commonly acknowledged as one of the most important and original calligraphers of the nineteenth century. He was born on December 30, 1799, in the town of Daozhou (modern Daoxian), in southern Hunan Province. In 1805 his father, He Linghan (1772–1840), who was a painter, calligrapher, and poet, passed the national examinations (*jinshi*) and commenced a highly successful political career in Beijing, the imperial capital. In Beijing the young He Shaoji came to the attention of various leading figures in the political and cultural world, such as Ruan Yuan (1764–1849; cat. no. 3) and Bao Shichen (1775–1855), each of whom significantly influenced the direction of He Shaoji's art and career. Starting in 1822, He Shaoji pursued a government career by sitting for a series of qualifying exams in his home province of Hunan, and he eventually passed the national examinations in 1836. He was assigned to

a two-year course of study in the Hanlin Academy, where one of his instructors was the elderly Ruan Yuan, who had also helped shepherd him through the final stages of the examination process. He Shaoji was subsequently appointed to a series of positions in the Hanlin Academy and the Historiography Institute (1838–49) and was sent to conduct provincial examinations in Fujian (1839), Guizhou (1844), and Guangzhou (1849). He also spent two long periods in Hunan, first for the death, interment, and mourning period for his father (1840–42) and then for his mother (1850–52). In 1852 He Shaoji was appointed education commissioner for Sichuan Province, where he diligently conducted examinations throughout the province until mid-1855, when he lost his office upon being admonished by the throne for an imprudent proposal. He never sought government service again. From 1856 to 1860, he

ARTIST SEALS

*He Shaoji yin* 何紹基印 square relief

*Zizhen* 子貞 square intaglio

COLLECTOR SEALS

*Songbaolu caug*\* 松瀑廬藏 square relief

*An Siyuan caug*\* 安思遠藏 square relief

古  
硯  
坡  
陀  
麝  
煤  
綠

小  
山  
蔥  
蒨  
石  
盆  
寒

何紹基

心

行

所

was headmaster of an academy in Ji'nan, Shandong Province, and then from 1860 to 1869 at a similar school in Changsha, Hunan Province. He Shaoji continued to travel in his free time, visiting Guangxi Province in 1862, Guangdong in 1863, and the lower Yangzi region in 1864. Ill from 1866 to 1870, he remained for the most part in Changsha. In 1870 he accepted an invitation from the governor of Jiangsu Province to supervise an important publication project in Suzhou. He fell ill again in late August 1873 and died on September 11.<sup>19</sup>

He Shaoji enthusiastically took advantage of his many travels to view, study, and collect stone inscriptions, rubbings, rare books, and calligraphy. He also maintained long-term friendships with several of the greatest collectors of the period, including Ruan Yuan, Wu Yun (1811–1883; cat. no. 17), and Chen Jieqi (1813–1884; cat. no. 18). They appreciated his connoisseurship and often invited him to study their holdings of calligraphy and painting and write scholarly colophons for some of their most rare and valuable possessions.

He Shaoji was always evolving as an artist. Initially trained in the model-letters tradition (*tiexuepai*), He Shaoji was attracted to the bold, monumental standard script practiced by Yan Zhenqing (A.D. 709–785) and the elegant running and cursive scripts of Wang Xizhi (A.D. ca. 303–ca. 361) and his son Wang Xianzhi (A.D. 344–388). He later studied even more archaic forms of writing and established himself as one of the leading

calligraphers of the Stele School (*beixuepai*), diligently applying himself in particular to the various styles of standard script found in stone inscriptions of the Northern Wei dynasty (A.D. 386–535). Starting about 1858, he devoted himself wholeheartedly to the rigorous study and copying of clerical-script inscriptions from stone monuments of the Han dynasty (206 B.C.–A.D. 220). As he progressed from one focus of study to another, He Shaoji consciously synthesized each new technique with those he had mastered before, creating a distinctive personal style. He also devised a unique way of holding the brush that required an unusual degree of physical exertion and mental discipline. By suspending his entire arm from the shoulder and bending both the elbow and wrist inward—much the way an archer draws the string of a bow—He Shaoji not only changed the normal mechanics of writing but also significantly altered the effect that certain movements would produce on the forms and structures of individual characters. In making each stroke, he concentrated the energy of his entire body upward from his heels, out the tight coil of his arm, and straight down through the center of his brush tip. This strenuous technique imparted a dynamic tension and emotional expressiveness to He Shaoji's calligraphy.<sup>20</sup>

A prolific calligrapher, He Shaoji excelled in writing all forms of script. This couplet, probably dating to He Shaoji's late period, is a fine example of his mature running script. The characters are roughly balanced in size and maintain equal spacing, but each graph

is centered on its own axis and functions as a distinct unit. The internal structures sometimes join a bit awkwardly, and there is a lack of concern for fine detail. For the most part, however, the slightly elongated characters are classically formed, though many exhibit a spare, stripped-down quality. Vertical lines tilt toward the right, and the thickness of strokes and tonality of the ink vary freely both between and within individual characters, creating shifting juxtapositions and contrasts throughout the two columns.<sup>21</sup>

The collection of the Freer Gallery of Art contains four other works by He Shaoji: F1980.102a–b (couplet, running script), F1980.118 (frontispiece to a handscroll, standard and running scripts, 1871), F1982.7 (hanging scroll, clerical script), and F1997.58 (hanging scroll, clerical script).

Couplet,  
in running script

蔣仁 行書 對聯

Jiang Ren (1743–1795)

Qing dynasty, 1789

Pair of hanging scrolls; ink on gold-flecked paper

each 149.9 x 28.6 cm

F1997.42.1-2

十圍龍竹高於樹，  
五色神芝秀結拳。

藝圃詞丈教腕。己酉穀雨前一日，吉羅姪仁

Ten meters around, dragon bamboo stands taller than the trees,  
In five colors each, sacred mushrooms blossom as big as a fist.

For Yipu [Gardener], my senior in poetry, to “instruct my wrist” [correct my calligraphy]. The day before Grain Showers in the jiyou year [April 19, 1789].

Jiluo, your nephew, Ren<sup>25</sup>

Jiang Ren was a native of Renhe (modern Hangzhou), Zhejiang Province. Best known for his calligraphy and seal carving, he was also a landscape painter and poet. In seal carving, Jiang Ren is included among the Eight Masters of Xiling. He was strongly influenced by the works of Ding Jing (1695–1765), founder of the Zhejiang School and oldest of the Eight Masters. Although praised by some contemporaries as the best carver of his generation and recommended on at least one occasion for an official position, he contrived to avoid any political entanglements, choosing instead to live quietly in a small run-down house outside the city.<sup>24</sup>

As a calligrapher, Jiang Ren worked primarily in orthodox styles of the model-letters tradition (*tiexuepai*). He was particularly inspired by the great Song dynasty artist Mi Fu (A.D. 1051–1107) and

certain other early masters. While he sometimes wrote in clerical script, Jiang is most highly regarded for his standard script and running script. In his running script, he typically blended thick, dark horizontal lines with thinner, less pronounced vertical strokes, using these variations to pattern and texture his overall composition. Jiang’s output was rather small, and surviving works are comparatively few. Dated scrolls such as this couplet are even rarer.<sup>25</sup>

Jiang dedicated this work to one of his uncles, who was evidently a poet and used the sobriquet Yipu (Gardener). Presumably, Jiang intended the two lines to praise his uncle as an exceptional gardener capable of cultivating even such special plants as the unusually large “dragon bamboo” and “sacred mushroom,” a kind of fungus reputed to confer long life when ingested.

ARTIST SEALS<sup>27</sup>

Shantang 山堂 square relief

Ren yin 仁印 square relief

COLLECTOR SEALS

An Siyuan zhencang ji★

安思遠珍藏記 square relief

An Siyuan jianshang yin★

安思遠鑒賞印 rectangle relief



藝園詞文教腕

十園龍竹高於樹

五色神芝秀結拳

己酉秋兩前一日吉羅姪仁





Above: Detail, running script by Jiang Ren.  
Right: Detail, signature and seals of Jiang Ren (actual size). Facing page: Detail, running script by Jiang Ren.





Couplet,  
in clerical script

奚岡 隸書 對聯

Xi Gang (1746–1803)

Qing dynasty, 1794

Pair of hanging scrolls; ink on paper

each 124 x 24.3 cm

FI997.44.1-2

受酒已捐身外事，  
閉門自見意中山。

甲寅清夏，書於散木草堂。蒙泉外史奚岡

*Loving wine, I have renounced everything beyond myself;  
Shutting my gate, I behold the mountains in my own mind.*

*Written in my Sanmu caotang [studio] on a clear summer day  
in the jiyin year [1794].*

*Mengquan waishi Xi Gang<sup>27</sup>*

ARTIST SEALS

*Donghua'an* 冬華龕

square intaglio (right scroll)

*Xi Gang zhi yin* 奚岡之印

square intaglio

*Sanmu jushi* 散木居士 square intaglio

COLLECTOR SEALS<sup>26</sup>

*Peiyi jingxin suo ji* 佩乙精心所集

oval relief

*Peiyi suo cang mingxian yingtie*

佩乙所藏明賢楹帖 square relief

*An Siyuan zhencang ji*\*

安思遠珍藏記 square relief

*An Siyuan jianshang yin*\*

安思遠鑒賞印 rectangle relief

A native of Qiantang (modern Hangzhou), Zhejiang Province, Xi Gang is mainly celebrated as an outstanding painter of landscapes and bird-and-flower compositions. An expert seal carver as well, he is included among the Eight Masters of Xiling. Able to write clerical script by the time he was eight, in his late teens Xi Gang was forced to start selling his art in order to sustain the household after his father died. By the time he reached forty, his popularity as an artist extended as far as the Ryukyu Islands and Japan, but despite such widespread recognition, he was able to provide only a meager income to support his family. Philosophically alienated from the ruling Manchu regime and keeping to the company of like-minded artists and scholars, Xi Gang never pursued advancement

through the examination system and resisted all attempts by influential friends to recommend him for an official appointment. His disdain for government even extended to those officials who wished to commission or acquire his works. As a young man, for example, he once refused an invitation to provide paintings for the temporary residence of the Qianlong emperor (reigned 1735–96) during an imperial visit to Hangzhou. And he consistently declined to meet with potential patrons holding government office, such as Ruan Yuan (1764–1849; cat. no. 3), who was stationed in Hangzhou toward the end of Xi's life and was both a fellow calligrapher and strong supporter of scholarship and the arts. In 1801 Xi's younger brother, three sons, and daughter died during an outbreak

愛酒已捐身外事

甲寅清夏書於象石州堂



閉門自見意中山

象石州堂



of diphtheria. Shortly afterward he and his elderly mother barely escaped when a fire burned their modest home and destroyed all their possessions. Unable to recover from the sorrow and shock of these events, his mother soon passed away, leaving him, at age fifty-six, the sole survivor of his immediate family. Xi Gang himself fell seriously ill the following winter and died on December 7, 1803, after lingering for several months.<sup>28</sup>

Xi Gang's calligraphy was somewhat overshadowed by the daring, idiosyncratic works of

younger contemporaries such as Chen Hongshou (1768–1822; cat. no. 7) and Zhao Zhichen (1781–1852; cat. no. 8). Nevertheless, he is highly regarded for his running and cursive script and widely acclaimed for his elegant works in full-bodied, carefully balanced clerical script, as exemplified by this rare dated couplet. Xi Gang was also extremely fond of strong drink and earned a reputation for being temperamental in his cups. Although the couplet draws its language and mood directly from the well-established



Detail, clerical script by Xi Gang.

Chinese tradition of idealistic  
reclusion, the sentiments expressed  
in this text, given Xi Gang's  
known attitudes and proclivities,  
may also be taken as a genuine  
statement of his personal approach  
to life.<sup>29</sup>

The collection of the Freer Gallery of Art  
contains two other works by Xi Gang: F1977.7  
(painting of plum, narcissus, and bamboo,  
1788) and F1998.85.1-2 (couplet, clerical  
script, undated).



Above: Detail, signature of Xi Gang.  
Left: Detail, seals of Xi Gang (actual size).



Couplet,  
in clerical script

陳鴻壽 隸書 對聯

Chen Hongshou (1768–1822)

Qing dynasty, early 19th century

Pair of hanging scrolls; ink on woodblock printed paper

each 154.5 x 34.3 cm

F1997.50.1–2

奇才絕學，廬王並妙：

清詞麗句，顏謝齊名。

陳鴻壽

*For extraordinary talent and inimitable erudition, both Lu and Wang are marvelous;  
For elegant diction and splendid turns of phrase, Yan and Xie are equally renowned.<sup>31</sup>*

Chen Hongshou

A native of Qiantang (modern Hangzhou), Zhejiang Province, Chen Hongshou was an accomplished writer and painter, especially of plants and flowers. He is most famous, however, for his calligraphy and seal carving, for which he is numbered among the Eight Masters of Xiling. Chen was awarded the licentiate degree (*bacong*) in 1801 at the age of thirty-three and was initially appointed vice prefect of Huai'an in Anhui Province. He then joined the staff of the scholar-official Ruan Yuan (1764–1849; cat. no. 3), who was then governor of Zhejiang and headquartered in Chen's hometown of Hangzhou. From 1811 to 1817 Chen served as magistrate of Liyang in Jiangsu Province, and was subsequently appointed for a three-year term as magistrate in nearby Yixing, the famous pottery center west of Lake Tai. During his ten years in this general vicinity, Chen became closely associated with the development of

Yixing pottery, commissioning thousands of works from the best potters of the day and decorating or inscribing many of them with his own compositions.<sup>32</sup>

While his running and standard scripts followed the orthodox styles of the model-letters tradition (*tiexuepai*), Chen Hongshou was an avid student of stone inscriptions and particularly excelled in clerical script. Transcending the conventional approaches to this script, Chen developed a highly personalized style of brushwork and brought a fresh sense of creativity to its practice. He drew on a diverse and rather unusual range of ancient sources for his inspiration and developed several different approaches to writing clerical script by transforming and combining previously discrete stylistic elements in unique and novel ways. Although he freely borrowed from Qin dynasty (221–206 B.C.) and Western Han dynasty (206 B.C.–A.D. 8) sources, Chen

ARTIST SEALS<sup>30</sup>

Chen Hongshou yin 陳鴻壽印

square intaglio

Jiagu tingzhang 夾谷亭長 square relief

COLLECTOR SEALS

An Siyuan\* 安思遠 rectangle relief

An Siyuan cang\* 安思遠藏 square relief



奇才絕學盧王並妙

清詞麗句顏謝齊眉

徐山書





Above: Detail, seals of Chen Hongshou (actual size).  
 Right: Detail, signature of Chen Hongshou.

was particularly influenced by rock inscriptions from the Eastern Han dynasty (A.D. 25–220).<sup>33</sup> In Chen Hongshou's day, this somewhat crude form of clerical script was appreciated by artists and connoisseurs for its artless simplicity. Compressed horizontally, each character is loosely joined and its constituent elements deviate asymmetrically from the center. Oblique vertical angles and elongated diagonal strokes help establish visual rhythm and balance. Adopting these qualities in his own clerical script, Chen Hongshou achieved an outwardly spontaneous yet calculatedly

eccentric effect. As in this couplet, he often employed clear, well-defined brushwork to further exaggerate the irregularity of internal structures. With their long tailing strokes and randomly distributed thick and thin lines, many characters appear to be constructed in a haphazard, almost clumsy, manner. When viewed as a whole, however, the full composition maintains a clearly premeditated harmony of balance and proportion, both among the characters in each separate column and between the two columns side by side. In this manner, Chen simultaneously signaled the archaic origins of his source material and showcased his own artistic inventiveness. Moreover, since the text itself really has no specific or definable pertinence to anything in particular, the unique calligraphic qualities of the couplet become the sole focus of attention. Fully achieving the deliberately cultivated rusticity that epitomizes Chen Hongshou's personal approach to clerical script, this couplet thoroughly illustrates his highly sophisticated aesthetic sensibilities.<sup>34</sup>

The collection of the Freer Gallery of Art contains two other works of calligraphy by Chen Hongshou, both in running script: F1988.2 (hanging scroll, undated) and F1998.106.1–2 (couplet, 1815).





Detail, clerical script by Chen Hongshou (*miao*, "marvelous") and collector seal of Robert Hatfield Ellsworth (*An Siyuan*).

Passage from  
the Memorial Stele  
for Qiao Min,  
in clerical script

趙之琛 隸書  
節臨漢譙敏碑 軸

Zhao Zhichen (1781–1852)

Qing dynasty, early to mid-19th century

Hanging scroll; ink on paper

109 x 20.1 cm

FI997.55

君商時度世，引己倍權，守靜微冗，韜光韞玉，以遠悔咎，恥與鄰人，屬並檢驅。

次閑趙之琛，臨漢譙君碑

*On reviewing the times and taking stock of his age, the gentleman withdrew himself and rejected power, preserving his tranquility and minimizing his affairs. He covered his light and concealed his jade to keep himself from regretting error, and was reluctant to jostle for rank and position with the common herd.<sup>55</sup>*

*Cixian Zhao Zhichen, copying the Memorial Stele for Master Qiao from the Han dynasty<sup>56</sup>*

A native of Qiantang (modern Hangzhou), Zhejiang Province, Zhao Zhichen is best known as a versatile and prolific seal carver. Both he and his teacher, Chen Yuzhong (1762–1806), are numbered among the Eight Masters of Xiling. Zhao was also an accomplished painter and calligrapher. As a young man, he worked under the direction of Ruan Yuan (1764–1849; cat. no. 3), who was then stationed in Hangzhou as governor of Zhejiang Province, and personally made many of the rubbings of archaic seal script that appear in Ruan's famous 1804 catalogue of inscriptions on ancient bronze vessels. As a calligrapher, Zhao was proficient in all types of script. Because of his training and experience, it is not surprising that he often used different variations of seal script in his calligraphy.

He is particularly admired, however, for his calligraphy in clerical script, as seen in this scroll, which he studied largely through rubbings of the carved texts found on ancient stone monuments, particularly those from the first three centuries A.D.<sup>37</sup>

The subject of this text, Qiao Min (A.D. 129–185), was a low-ranking eunuch who served at the imperial court of the Eastern Han dynasty (A.D. 25–220). In A.D. 187, two years after Qiao's death, his relatives had a memorial stele carved and erected for him in his native county, Zaoqiang in Hebei Province. The stele went unnoticed by history until almost nine hundred years later, when eleventh-century scholars studying early forms of Chinese writing first recorded and made rubbings of it.<sup>38</sup> The original stone was subsequently

ARTIST SEALS

Zhai Zhichen yin 趙之琛印

square intaglio

Fentunlihua 芬陀利華 square relief

COLLECTOR SEAL

An Siyuan zhencaang ji★

安思遠珍藏記 square relief

君商時度世引已倍權守靜  
人穴商韜光韞玉世引已倍權守靜  
羸韜光韞玉世引已倍權守靜  
竝光韞玉世引已倍權守靜  
馬區玉世引已倍權守靜  
引已倍權守靜  
遠悔各耻與  
隣

水閣趙之辰臨漢誰君碑



趙之辰



商 曆 書 辛 辛

時 尤 立 立

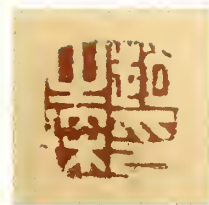
度 韞 合 木

lost, and no rubbings directly from it are extant. But the text was recut at some point, presumably following existing rubbings, and new rubbings were produced. In the late eighteenth century, one undated rubbing of this recut text circulated among scholars and epigraphers of Zhao Zhichen's acquaintance. An outline copy was published, which despite being several times removed from its Han dynasty source, fully retained the basic structural integrity of early clerical script.<sup>39</sup> The Memorial Stele for Qiao Min

served as an inspiration for Zhao Zhichen on more than one occasion. For this scroll, he selected a short, generally applicable philosophical passage from the much longer text.<sup>40</sup>

In writing this passage on paper with brush and ink, Zhao was seeking not to reproduce the inert formal qualities of an inscription chiseled in stone but to creatively reinterpret the inherent particularities of Han dynasty clerical script by means of a different artistic medium. The result is a direct expression of Zhao's personal aesthetic that is also very much in accord with the prevailing antiquarian tastes of his era, exhibiting a deliberate awkwardness that is consciously archaic yet decidedly contemporary at the same time.

The collection of the Freer Gallery of Art also contains one painting by Zhao Zhichen: F1980.158 (squirrels in a pine tree, 1837).



*Left:* Detail, signature of Zhao Zhichen.

*Above:* Detail, seals of Zhao Zhichen (actual size).

*Facing page:* Detail, clerical script by Zhao Zhichen.

“Commentary on the  
Judgment” for  
Hexagram Forty-six,  
in seal script

鄧石如 篆書  
周易象辭 軸

Deng Shiru (1743–1805)

Qing dynasty, ca. 1780–81

Hanging scroll; ink on paper

114.7 x 42.5 cm

F1997.47

柔以時升，巽而順，剛中而應，是以《大亨》。《用見大人，勿恤》，有慶也。《南征吉》，志行也。

周易象辭，古皖鄧琰篆書

*The soft line [lowly individual] ascends with the times. Gentle and compliant, it responds to the hard line [the ruler or patron] in the middle. Thus, there is great “good fortune.” “It is useful to see the great man, so have no trepidation,” [means] there will be [cause for] rejoicing. “It is propitious to journey south,” [means] your purpose will be fulfilled.*

“Commentary on the Judgment” from the Changes of Zhou, written in seal script by Deng Yan from ancient Wan [Anhui Province]<sup>41</sup>

**Inscription, in small standard script (lower left)**

Jia Zhen 賈臻 (*jinsi* 1832–died 1869)<sup>42</sup>

余家藏此幅有年矣。比來濟上出視眉未，乃權喜贊歎，以為直接先秦，李少溫不足道。眉叔故好古，舉以貽之，亦寶劍俠士之贈也。道光戊申夏五，退厓賈臻躬自厚齋記

*This hanging scroll has been in my family collection for years. Recently by the Ji [River in Shandong Province] I brought it out to show to Meishu [Zhuang Jindu]. He liked [the calligraphy] very much and praised it highly, saying it relates directly back to [the seal script of the] pre-Qin period [before 221 B.C.], and that [the eighth-century works of] Li Shaowen [Li Bingyang]<sup>43</sup> are not worth speaking of [in comparison]. Because Meishu is fond of antique things, I am giving [the scroll] to him in the same way a precious sword is presented to a gallant knight. Recorded during summer, the fifth lunar month in the wushen year of the Daoguang reign period [June 1848], by Tuiya Jia Zhen in my Gongzihou Studio.*

**Inscription, in small standard script (lower left)**

Zhuang Jindu 莊縉度 (1799–1852)<sup>44</sup>

完白山人書，前無古人，後無來者。此幅筆力如挽千鈞之弩，斯逸為之不過余余，詢是異寶。裴齋

*The calligraphy of Wanbai shuren [Deng Shiru] had no predecessors in the past and will have [no equal] in the future. The brush force [he demonstrates] in this hanging scroll is like the pull of a thousand-pound crossbow. Neither [Li] Si nor [Cheng] Miao could do any better.<sup>45</sup> It truly is an extraordinary treasure. Peizhai*



東已昔我嬰而順剛中  
 而癯是公合用見大  
 入多陞武廣也南征焉  
 悉亦也

周易象辭

周古皖鄧琮篆書



余家藏此幅有年矣比來海上出  
 眉未乃惟喜其款以為真珠光卷李少温不  
 且道其款好古求以貽之無寶飾使士之相  
 也道光戊申夏五臣臣徐鼎自厚齋記  
 卷之五第廿九號



ARTIST SEAL

*Deng Yan* 鄧琰 square intaglio

COLLECTOR SEALS\*\*

*Xiaoxian shoucang mingji zhi zhang*

小仙收藏名跡之章 rectangle relief

*Xutang suo bao* 煦堂所寶 rectangle intaglio

*Zhimoshanfang zhi yin*

知墨山房之印 rectangle relief

*Xushi Youmolu mobao*

許氏有墨樓墨寶 square relief

*Yanxuan zhenshang* 延暉珍賞

square intaglio

*Ganling* 甘陵 oval relief (Jia Zhen, inscription)

*Chen Zhen zhi yin* 臣臻之印

square intaglio (Jia Zhen, inscription)

*Jia Yunzhu* 賈運主 square intaglio

(Jia Zhen, inscription)

*Peizhai jianshang* 裴齋鑒賞

square relief (Zhuang Jindu, right side, fourth from bottom)

*Qiu Jingren cang* 邱景任藏

rectangle relief (outside mounting, lower roller)

*An Siyuan cang*\* 安思遠藏 rectangle relief



Among the most gifted of later Chinese calligraphers, Deng Shiru was born to a poor scholar family in the Huaining district of Anhui Province. Although financially unable to pursue a formal education, he showed early signs of artistic promise. During his twenties Deng earned his living as an itinerant seal carver. He also made rubbings of calligraphy from stone carvings and inscriptions on ancient bronzes, and by his early thirties he had attracted the patronage of several well-connected scholars and officials in the province and was teaching at a local school. For several months in 1780, Deng was a guest at the home of a wealthy collector of early stone and bronze inscriptions in the southern capital of Nanjing, Jiangsu Province. There he had an opportunity to master a broad range of approaches to seal script and clerical script by studying and copying directly from the best ancient examples, and his professional career as a calligrapher blossomed. Over the next twenty-five years he traveled widely throughout the country, staying for various periods of time with an ever-growing circle of admirers and patrons. By the time of his death in 1805, Deng Shiru was one of the foremost artists on the national stage. He founded the Anhui School of seal carving and exerted a powerful influence on the next generation of artists, particularly those who drew their inspiration from the study of seals and early stone inscriptions, such as Wu Xizai (1799–1879; cat. no. 10), Zhao Zhiqian (1829–1884;

*Left:* Detail, seal of Deng Shiru (actual size).

*Right:* Detail, signature of Deng Shiru.

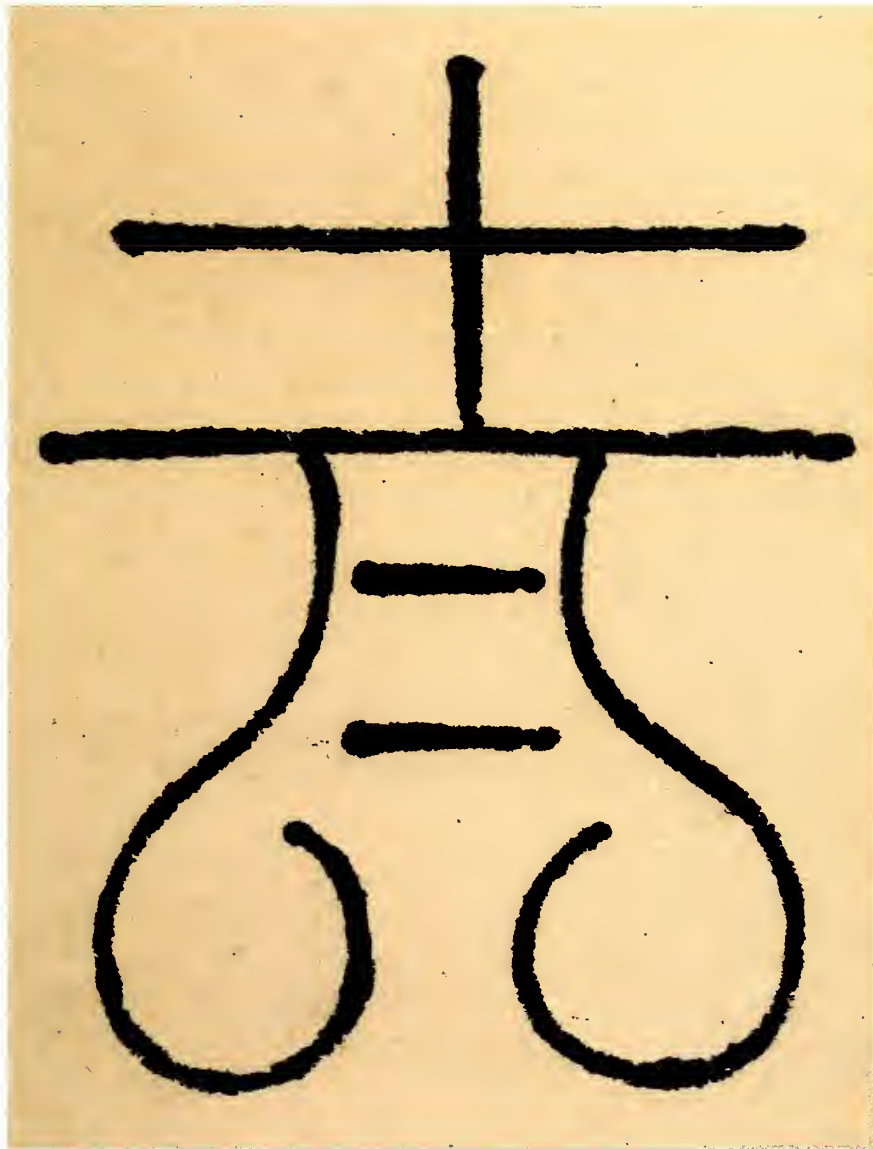
cat. no. 11), and Xu Sangeng (1826–1890; cat. no. 12).<sup>47</sup>

To create this work, Deng Shiru used small seal script (*xiaozhuan*), a standardized form of script devised during the Qin dynasty (221–206 B.C.) and largely preserved on works of metal and stone. When written with a brush, as here, small seal script is typically rendered in crisp even-width lines of dark monochromatic ink, which resemble joined bands of straight and curving wire. Compositions are usually arranged in regularly spaced columns from right to left, with each but the last containing an equal number of characters. Deng Shiru began his study of seal script as a youth and it remained one of his favorite modes of expression. He probably created this undated work early in his career, about 1780–81, when he produced at least two other similar hanging scrolls in seal script quoting from the same classical



source cited here, the *Yijing* (Book of changes), also known as the *Zhou Yi* (Changes of Zhou), one of the oldest surviving works of Chinese literature. For this scroll, Deng Shiru selected an auspicious passage from an early commentary on this ancient text. The passage indicates that the time is right for an individual of lowly circumstance to rise in prominence by serving a worthy ruler, a sentiment that is generally applicable to any individual in search of patronage or recognition.<sup>48</sup> At the lower left, the scroll also bears the inscriptions and seals of two mid-nineteenth-century owners, Jia Zhen and Zhuang Jindu, who favorably compare the seal script of Deng Shiru to its ancient antecedents.

The collection of the Freer Gallery of Art contains four other works of calligraphy by Deng Shiru, all hanging scrolls: F1980.5 (cursive script), F1993.3 (seal script), F1997.48 (clerical script), and F1997.49 (running script).



Detail, seal script by Deng Shiru.

Couplet,  
in clerical script

吳熙載 隸書 對聯

Wu Xizai (1799–1870)

Qing dynasty, ca. 1850s

Pair of hanging scrolls; ink on paper

each 134.2 x 32.8 cm

F1997.57.1–2

筆老詩新疑有物，  
水清石瘦亦能奇。

伯卿大兄先生屬。讓之吳熙載

*A new poem from an old brush may still have substance,  
just as slender stones in clear water can be extraordinary.*

*[Written] at the request of Mister Boqing, my great "older brother."*

Rangzhi Wu Xizai<sup>40</sup>

Officially registered as a resident of Yizheng, Jiangsu Province, Wu Xizai was actually born and raised in the nearby city of Yangzhou, an important commercial and art center to which his family had moved in an earlier generation. His father earned a meager living in the marketplace as a physiognomist, a kind of fortune-teller who could "read" a person's character and fate through examining his facial features. Despite these humble origins, Wu Xizai received a solid traditional education and was selected as a government student (*shengyuan*). Financial circumstances after his father's death in 1821, however, forced him to make his career as a professional artist. In 1853, when advancing Taiping rebels threatened to overwhelm Yangzhou, Wu fled to relative safety in the not-too-distant town of Taizhou, where

he remained until 1864. During these eleven years, he often stayed as a guest with various well-to-do friends and collectors, for whom he produced a steady stream of seals, paintings, and works of calligraphy. Wu Xizai was reduced to poverty toward the end of his life, especially after his eyesight began to diminish, and he apparently survived both by selling his art and through the kindness of patrons. The circumstances of his last years are somewhat vague, but he may have lived for some time with the eminent collector and epigrapher Wu Yun (1811–1883; cat. no. 17), for whom he also carved a number of seals over the years and wrote calligraphy.<sup>50</sup>

Widely admired as a seal carver, painter, calligrapher, and poet, Wu Xizai was attracted to seal carving in his youth and is best known today as one of the

ARTIST SEALS

*Xizai zhi yin* 熙載之印 square intaglio

*Wushi Rangzhi* 吳氏讓之 square intaglio

COLLECTOR SEALS

*Reading uncertain* rectangle intaglio (upper right)

*An Siyuan zhencang ji*★

安思遠珍藏記 square relief

*An Siyuan jianshang yin*★安思遠鑒賞

印 rectangle relief

筆老詩新疑有物

伯柳大兄先生屬

水清石瘦亦能奇

陳之吳正書







*Left:* Detail, seals of Wu Xizai (actual size).

*Lower right:* Detail, signature of Wu Xizai.

*Facing page:* Detail, clerical script by Wu Xizai.



foremost practitioners of this art form during the nineteenth century. He became a disciple of the eminent scholar and epigrapher Bao Shichen (1775–1855), to whom he remained deeply attached throughout his life. Bao in turn had been a student of Deng Shiru (1743–1805; cat. no. 9), and under Bao's tutelage Wu soon abandoned his earlier approaches to calligraphy and seal carving and adopted the style and techniques of this eighteenth-century master. Wu Xizai is generally acknowledged as the leading exponent in his generation of the Anhui School founded by Deng. His works exerted a powerful influence on younger calligraphers and seal carvers such as Zhao Zhiqian (1829–1884; cat. no. 11), Xu Sangeng (1826–1890; cat. no. 12), and Wu Changshuo (1844–1927; cat. no. 13).<sup>51</sup>

Although Wu Xizai was adept at all styles of writing, he is most highly regarded for his works in seal script and clerical script, which were firmly grounded in his study of stele inscriptions from the Qin through Western Jin dynasties (third century B.C.–third century

A.D.). In translating these early forms of writing from stone to paper, Wu Xizai owed an incalculable debt to the pioneering efforts of Deng Shiru and the interpretive guidance of Bao Shichen. A bit more prim than Deng Shiru in both character formation and brushwork, Wu Xizai nevertheless wrote with a clear sense of authority. In this couplet, for example, both the internal structure of individual characters and the spacing between them are carefully balanced. Following Deng's manner, Wu held his brush straight upright and applied steady pressure, using only the middle of the brush tip to write. As a result, the individual strokes are generally of even width, except for the tails of ending strokes, while the tonality of the ink is a consistent dark black with no sign of streaking. Probably written while he was in Taizhou during the prime of his career, this couplet is an excellent example of Wu Xizai's fully mature clerical script.<sup>52</sup>

The Freer Gallery of Art contains three other works of calligraphy by Wu Xizai: F1980.3 (frontispiece to a handscroll, clerical-seal script, 1843), F1986.11a–d (set of four hanging scrolls, seal script, undated), and F1998.129 (hanging scroll, cursive script, undated).



Couplet,  
in standard script

趙之謙 楷書 對聯

Zhao Zhiqian (1829–1884)

Qing dynasty, mid-19th century

Pair of hanging scrolls; ink on paper

each 131.5 x 32.8 cm

F1997.61.1–2

虎豹變，氣象現。

鳳皇翔，文字昌。

雪巖一兄大人屬書。趙之謙

*When tiger and leopard change, it is revealed in the signs of nature;  
When the phoenix soars aloft, then all of writing will be glorious.<sup>54</sup>*

*Written at the behest of my great "elder brother" Xueyan.<sup>55</sup>*

*Zhao Zhiqian*

Zhao Zhiqian was born on August 8, 1829, into a merchant family in Kuaiji (modern Shaoxing), Zhejiang Province. A precocious youth, he set his mind on passing the national examinations (*jìnshi*) and becoming an official. To this end, Zhao became a government student (*shengyuan*) in 1848, and in 1859 he passed the provincial examinations (*jiuren*) in nearby Hangzhou. He was soon forced to flee when Taiping rebels occupied the city in March 1860. Some two years later, while sojourning in Fujian Province, Zhao received the news that his wife and daughter had perished from illness in Shaoxing, and he took the studio name Bei'an (Hut of Sorrow), by which he is still commonly known today. In the winter of 1862, Zhao made his way along the coast to the imperial capital, Beijing, where his reputation as an up-and-coming

artist had preceded him. He received a warm welcome from many leading figures in the political and art worlds. He remained in Beijing for some three years but returned to Shaoxing in 1865 after failing his first attempt to pass the national examinations. Zhao spent much of the next seven years either preparing for the exams or traveling to and from Beijing in a fruitless endeavor to pass them. Eventually, in 1872 his connections in the capital and reputation as an artist secured him a recommendation for an official position in Jiangxi Province. Initially, Zhao was commissioned to revise and update the provincial gazetteer (1873–78), but he later served as the prefect of Poyang (1878–81), Fengxin (1881–83), and finally Nancheng (1883–84). In this last location, he was energetically engaged in support operations

ARTIST SEALS<sup>53</sup>

Zhao Zhiqian 趙之謙 square intaglio

Zhao Huishu 趙撝叔 square intaglio

COLLECTOR SEALS

Songbaolu cang\* 松瀑廬藏 square relief

An Siyuan zhencang ji\* 安思遠珍藏記

square relief



雪巖一死六人屬書

帝豹瘦氣象現

鳳皇翔文字昌

趙之謙





Detail, standard script by Zhao Zhiqian.

relating to a conflict between France and China when he died of illness on November 18, 1884.<sup>56</sup>

Best known among his contemporaries for his calligraphy, painting, and seal carving, Zhao Zhiqian is still generally ranked as one of the foremost Chinese artists of the nineteenth century. He was also a noted scholar and bibliophile. His most important publications include a compilation of ancient stele inscriptions, an epigraphical study of variant character forms used during the Period of Division (A.D. 220–589), biographies of famous Qing dynasty scholars, a large compendium of rare texts in his collection, and the aforementioned gazetteer of Jiangxi Province.

As was common among calligraphers in his time, Zhao Zhiqian was formally trained as a youth in the model-letters tradition



(*tiexuepai*). He was particularly drawn to the Tang dynasty master Yan Zhenqing (A.D. 709–785), who was famous for the clarity, balance, and sense of monumentality found in his standard script. By his mid-teens Zhao had begun to investigate early seal and clerical-script writings preserved on metal and stone. About the age of thirty, he decided to strike out in a new direction. Having studied the theoretical writings of Bao Shichen (1775–1855) and Ruan Yuan (1764–1849; cat. no. 3), Zhao became attracted to the works of Deng Shiru (1743–1805; cat. no. 9) and other adherents of the Stele School (*beixuepai*). He began to experiment in this tradition and eventually achieved his own unique style. Acclaimed for his skill in all forms of script, Zhao was particularly renowned for the standard script that he developed through his study of stone monuments from the Northern Wei dynasty (A.D. 386–535), as seen in this couplet. In such works, his calligraphy is characterized by boldness and amplitude, while subtle changes in the brushstrokes and slight modulations in the otherwise uniform tonality of the ink mirror the complexity of the structural forms. Individual characters perceptibly angle upward to the right, while the rounded, upcurved finishing strokes on several characters infuse the work with a lively quality.<sup>57</sup>

The collection of the Freer Gallery of Art contains three other works by Zhao Zhiqian, one painting and two calligraphies: F1980.158 (floral painting, hanging scroll), F1997.89.1–4 (four album leaves, running script), and F1998.143 (folding fan mounted as album leaf, standard script).



Above: Detail, seals of Zhao Zhiqian (actual size).  
Lower left: Detail, signature of Zhao Zhiqian.

Couplet,  
in clerical-seal script

徐三庚 隸篆 對聯

Xu Sangeng (1826–1890)

Qing dynasty, 1887

Pair of hanging scrolls; ink on paper

each 133.7 × 32.2 cm

H1997.62.1–2

山行巧與梅月會，  
治宇復共蘭石平。

務賴仁兄大人法家屬集皇象書，即稀審定，幸幸。時丁亥三月上澣，上虞小弟徐三庚袖海甫記于滬上

*Walking in the hills, I meet by chance with plums and moonlight,  
Building a hut, I find peace once more with the orchids and stones.*

*Culled from the calligraphy of Huang Xiang [active mid- to late third century] at the request of my kind "elder brother" and great fellow calligrapher Wuyun, hoping I might have the good fortune to receive your critical judgment; first decade in the third lunar month of the dinghai year [March 25–April 3, 1887], recorded in Shanghai by your "younger brother" from Shangyu, Xu Sangeng Xiuhai fu<sup>58</sup>*

Xu Sangeng was a native of Shangyu, Zhejiang Province. A widely accomplished artist, he was especially renowned for his calligraphy and seal carving. Born to a poor family, Xu left home at an early age to earn his living as an itinerant seal carver and calligrapher. Perhaps because of his exposure to an ever-widening range of influences, Xu's style continued to evolve and become more eclectic. He traveled to many of the larger cities in the Yangzi Delta region in search of patronage and soon established a name for himself. He also made several longer journeys, going south to Hong Kong and Guangzhou (Canton) in 1872, to Tianjin and Beijing in the north in 1877, and to Wuhan in 1878. But the place Xu fared best and felt

most at home was the bustling port city of Shanghai, which was then emerging as a major commercial hub and preeminent center for the arts. In Shanghai, Xu found many friends and patrons in the art world. He was commissioned to create numerous seals and calligraphic works for some of the most prominent artists, collectors, and social figures of the day. He also had a large number of students and disciples, including some from Japan, and his influence spread throughout East Asia, where his style remains popular today.<sup>59</sup>

Xu Sangeng's early calligraphy and seal carving reflect the strong influence of artists from his home province of Zhejiang, particularly Chen Hongshou (1768–1822; cat. no. 7) and Zhao Zhichen

ARTIST SEALS

*Xueran sauren* 鬻然散人 square relief

*Xu Sangeng yin* 徐三庚印 square intaglio

*Xiuhai* 袖海 square relief

COLLECTOR SEALS

*Songbaolu cang*\* 松瀑廬藏 square relief

*An Siyuan cang*\* 安思遠藏 square relief

務類仁兄大人法家屬集皇象書即稀

山  
秀  
巧  
翠  
纒  
已  
會

審定李二時丁亥三月廿日

信  
序  
復  
秀  
蘭  
石  
秀

二真小弟徐三東錄海甫記于滬上

(1781–1852; cat. no. 8), whose styles and techniques he closely emulated. But about the age of thirty-eight, he underwent a significant artistic transformation. Strongly attracted to the works of Deng Shiru (1743–1805; cat. no. 9), he moved away from the influences of his early career to a style more in tune with Deng's direct successors, such as Wu Xizai (1799–1870; cat. no. 10). In particular, Xu became more focused on writing seal script. He specialized in the calligraphy of a singular inscription known as the *Tianfa shenchan bei* (Stele of the divine prognostication sent from heaven), which was carved in A.D. 276 at the close of the Wu dynasty (A.D. 222–280) and later attributed to the court calligrapher Huang Xiang (active A.D. mid- to late third century). Broken into three pieces and much damaged by exposure to the elements, the original stele was discovered in A.D. 1091 near the city of Nanjing, the former imperial capital of Wu,

and immediately attracted the attention of scholars and artists. While the text is of considerable historical interest, it was the unique style of writing on this stele that engendered the most intense comment and study. The engraved writing blends the structural forms of seal script with technical elements of clerical script. Curves and angles are juxtaposed within individual characters, while vertical strokes are uniformly square at the top and taper smoothly to a sharp point, sometimes likened to a hanging dagger. Rubbings of the text began to circulate soon after its discovery, and the work was recorded in various contemporary Song dynasty sources. Subsequent rubbings reveal that the condition of the carved text continued to deteriorate over the centuries. In 1805 the surviving fragments of the stele were destroyed by fire. Born some twenty years after this loss, Xu Sangeng knew the calligraphy of the *Tianfa shenchan bei* only through rubbings.<sup>60</sup>

Xu Sangeng continued to practice various forms of seal and clerical script throughout his career, but he is most closely identified with the idiosyncratic style of the *Tianfa shenchan bei*. For this pair of hanging scrolls, for example, he selected fourteen individual characters from the original text and arranged them to form a new poetic couplet. In his brush-written reinterpretation of the script, Xu dragged out the ends of vertical and diagonal lines even more than in the original and thickened the tails of many strokes by increasing pressure on the brush while simultaneously allowing the load



of ink to run dry in order to produce streaks. Xu used clerical script for his dedication, signature, and one of the seals, but his other two seals on the couplet are carved in the style of the *Tianfa shenchan bei*. This couplet is an excellent example of Xu Sangeng's fully mature calligraphy in his most distinctive and characteristic style.<sup>61</sup>

The Freer Gallery of Art contains two other works by Xu Sangeng. Both are couplets, and each is written in a different style of clerical script: F1998.148.1–2 (undated) and F1998.149.1–2 (dated 1882).



Left: Detail, seals of Xu Sangeng (actual size). Above: Detail, signature of Xu Sangeng. Facing page: Detail, clerical-seal script by Xu Sangeng.



Excerpt from the Third  
Stone Drum poem,  
in seal script

吳昌碩 篆書  
節臨石鼓 軸

Wu Changshuo (1844–1927)

Republic period, 1917  
Hanging scroll; ink on paper  
147.5 x 38.1 cm  
F1997.69

田車孔安鑿勒既左駟簡旛旛  
右駟駛駛避以隲于遠避止阨  
宮車其秀弓待射<sup>62</sup>

右臨獵碣第三，丁巳暮春之初，吳昌碩老缶

*The hunting chariot is ever so steady;  
The metal-ornamented reins are....  
The mailed four-horse teams are completely select.  
The left outer-steed is spirited;  
The right outer-steed is robust.  
We thereby ascend the plain.  
Our war chariots come to a halt on a knoll;  
The palace chariot is unhitched.  
We draw our bows and wait to shoot.<sup>63</sup>*

*At right I have copied the Third Hunting Stone Inscription;  
beginning of the last month in spring of the dingsi year [late April 1917].*

Wu Changshuo Laofou<sup>64</sup>

ARTIST SEALS

*Junqing zhi yin* 俊卿之印 square relief

*Cangshi* 倉碩 square intaglio

COLLECTOR SEAL

*An Siyuan* \*安思遠 rectangle relief

One of the most influential artists of the modern era, Wu Changshuo was born on September 12, 1844, in the village of Zhangwu in northwestern Zhejiang Province. His father, a provincial graduate (*junen*), had a strong interest in epigraphy and seal carving, which he passed along to his son. When the Taiping rebels swept into the province in 1860, the seventeen-year-old Wu Changshuo and his father fled into the mountains, where they lived off nature for some four years. On returning home in the fall of 1864, father

and son found they were the only survivors of their nine-member family, and they soon moved to the more fortified town of Ancheng nearby. In 1866 Wu began to study poetry and calligraphy with a local tutor. In 1872 he moved to the city of Hangzhou, Zhejiang Province, to study classics and literature with the eminent scholar and calligrapher Yu Yue (1821–1907), who was teaching at the Gujing Jingshe academy founded earlier in the century by Ruan Yuan (1764–1849; cat. no. 3). Continuing to practice calligraphy



田車以用墜勒既左駮簡厝  
日駮驢齋上墜于通齋止陝  
高車其季了出必

右臨嶽碣  
第三子巳首書之知  
吳昌碩老缶





Above: Detail, seals of Wu Changshuo (actual size).  
Right: Detail, seal script by Wu Changshuo.

and seal carving, Wu added painting to his repertoire of activities about the mid-1870s, quickly developing a distinctive style for depicting flowers, which remained his favorite subject throughout his life. In 1880 he stayed in Suzhou, Jiangsu Province, with the great collector Wu Yun (1811–1883; cat. no. 17), who considerably broadened his knowledge of calligraphy and seal carving. For most of his life thereafter, Wu Changshuo resided alternately in Suzhou (1882–87 and 1896–1912) or the nearby city of Shanghai (1887–96 and 1912–27) and made a living from his art. His national fame as an artist began to soar after the founding of the Republic of China in early 1912, and the

following year Wu was elected the first director of the Xiling Seal Carving Society (*Xiling yinshu*) in Hangzhou, as well as chairman of the Shanghai Calligraphy and Painting Association. He attracted many younger artists as his students and exerted a powerful influence on the next generation of calligraphers, seal carvers, and painters. Wu Changshuo died in Shanghai on November 29, 1927.<sup>65</sup>

As a calligrapher, Wu Changshuo is particularly admired for his running script and seal script, both of which can be seen on this scroll. His seal script is based on a famous group of highly eroded stone inscriptions from about the fifth century B.C., which were best known to scholars and



Right: Detail, seal script by Wu Changshuo.  
Lower right: Detail, signature of Wu Changshuo.



epigraphers in Wu Changshuo's day through old rubbings. The Stone Drums, also known as the Hunting Stone Inscriptions, are a set of ten carved granite boulders inscribed with a unique form of early seal script.<sup>66</sup> Before Wu Changshuo, the brushwork generally employed in the Qing dynasty for stone-drum calligraphy was consciously derived from standardized small seal script (*xiaozhuan*; see cat. no. 9) and lacked the pronounced characteristics of the style most familiar to us today. The exaggerated forms taken for granted by modern practitioners only became fully developed in the works of Wu Changshuo, who consciously strove to reinterpret the script through years of practice.

This scroll falls within Wu's most intense period of experimentation with stone-drum calligraphy and is a fine example of his fully mature approach. Although his energetic characters are not strictly symmetrical, the structure of his writing maintains a natural balance, and his artistic vigor at the age of seventy-three is clearly evident. At the lower left of the main text, Wu also added a brief comment, which shows the distinct leftward slant that is a hallmark of his personal approach to running script.<sup>67</sup>

The Freer Gallery of Art contains one painting by Wu Changshuo and two other independent works of calligraphy: F1980.148 (flower painting, 1919), F1997.98.1-2 (couplet, running script, 1920), and F1998.194 (hanging scroll, running script, 1911).



Poem by Li Qi,  
in seal script

齊白石 篆書  
李頎詩 冊頁

Qi Baishi (1864–1957)

Republic period, 1945  
Album leaf; ink on paper  
43.3 x 39.2 cm  
EI997.87.1

為政心閒物自閒，朝看飛鳥暮飛還；  
寄書河上神明宰，羨汝城頭姑射山。

湘綺師謂此詩乃唐人絕句之上乘；八十五歲白石篆

*You govern with your mind at ease, so others are naturally easy,  
The flying birds you see at dawn, at dusk come flying back.  
I send this missive to the prescient magistrate on the river,  
I am awed by your Mount Guye that looms above the city wall.<sup>69</sup>*

*My teacher Xiangqi considered this poem to be one of the best Tang dynasty  
quatrains; seal script by Baishi in his eighty-fifth year<sup>70</sup>*

One of the most highly esteemed artists in twentieth-century China, Qi Baishi was born on January 1, 1864, to a poor peasant family in Xiangtan, Hunan Province. He started learning carpentry from his uncle in 1877 and then proceeded to wood carving, the craft by which he earned his living over the next decade. In 1888 Qi Baishi became a student of a local folk artist, and in 1889 he commenced his formal study of literature and fine painting under the tutelage of local scholars and artists and began to make a living by selling his work. Qi started studying seal script and clerical script in 1896, as well as the calligraphy of He Shaoji (1799–1873; cat. no. 4), a fellow artist from Hunan. About the same time, he also became deeply enamored of seal carving, which he practiced assiduously

over the years, publishing the first of several albums of his seals in 1899. Qi subsequently studied the clerical script of Jin Nong (1687–1763), which exerted a particularly strong influence on his development as a calligrapher. About 1905 he became fascinated with the work of Zhao Zhiqian (1829–1884; cat. no. 11). Under its sway he further altered his own approach to seal carving and calligraphy, exploring in particular the stone inscriptions of the Northern Wei dynasty (A.D. 386–535). Qi Baishi moved to Beijing permanently in 1919 and became a teacher at the Beijing Art School in 1927. He continued to teach, write, and publish until the beginning of the war of resistance against Japan in 1937, when he resigned his position and refused to see official visitors or sell his works.

ARTIST SEAL<sup>69</sup>

Baishi weng 白石翁 square relief

COLLECTOR SEAL

An Siyuan cang\* 安思遠藏  
rectangle relief

羅西門物  
 門翰自北易  
 燕飛還宮書河  
 上神因庫義洗  
 城頭古駟山

湘綺師謂古詩乃唐人絕  
 句之上乘  
 八十五歲白石篆



白石老人



He resumed exhibiting after the war and received an honorary teaching position at a local art college. After the founding of the People's Republic in 1949, Qi Baishi was one of the most highly honored artists in the country, widely exhibiting and publishing his works until his death on September 16, 1957.<sup>71</sup>

As a calligrapher, Qi Baishi is best known for his works in running script and seal script. The development of Qi's seal script was particularly influenced over the years by his study of early seals and stone inscriptions from the Qin dynasty (221–206 B.C.) and later. He appropriated their strong squarish structures with the various discrete elements of their internal composition slightly askew. He also carefully attended to both the use of ink, subtly modulating its wetness and heaviness, and the alternating thickness and thinness of his brushstrokes.

Reflecting his early training as a wood carver and seal cutter, Qi Baishi's strokes are generally quite forceful, as if he were attempting to penetrate the paper with his brush. As in this album leaf, he often combined a postscript written in quick, fluid running script with the main text of larger characters written in seal script, thereby creating a dynamic visual tension between the two forms and techniques. Written with absolute ease and confidence, this album leaf is an excellent example of Qi Baishi's fully mature work in seal script.<sup>72</sup>

The collection of the Freer Gallery of Art contains three other works of calligraphy by Qi Baishi: F1998.250.1–.2 (couplet, seal script, 1939), F1998.251.1–.12 (album of twelve paintings by Yang Pu [late nineteenth–early twentieth century], with facing leaves of calligraphy by Qi Baishi in running script, 1927), and F1998.252 (album leaf, seal script, 1953). The Freer Gallery also contains seventeen other paintings by Qi Baishi (F1980.149, F1980.163, F1998.60–.74). The Arthur M. Sackler Gallery owns an additional seven paintings by Qi Baishi (S1987.216–.222).



Detail, signature and seal of Qi Baishi (actual size).

*Grapes*, Qi Baishi (1864–1957), Republic period, 1945, album leaf, ink and color on paper, 43.3 x 39.2 cm. Gift of Robert Hatfield Ellsworth in honor of the 75th Anniversary of the Freer Gallery of Art, F1997.87.2.

This painting is mounted with Qi Baishi's calligraphy of a poem by Li Qi (page 107). The themes of the two works are unrelated.

Couplet,  
in running script

李可染 行書 對聯

Li Keran (1907–1989)

Republic period, 1985

Pair of hanging scrolls; ink on paper

each 208.8 x 41.2 cm

F1997.84.1–2

書成蕉葉文猶綠，  
吟到梅花句亦香。

吾素不擅書寫楹聯。今因喜此二聯語，故偶一為之，覺別有意趣。安思遠先生雅屬請正。一九八五年歲次乙丑春三月下浣，白髮學童李可染書于師牛堂，時年七十有八。

Inscribed on banana leaves, the writing is still green;  
Singing of plum blossoms, his words are fragrant too.<sup>74</sup>

*I never mastered the writing of couplets and have made this one now just because I happen to like the two matched sentences that make the pair, for I feel they possess a special flavor. At the gracious behest of Mister An Siyuan [Robert Hatfield Ellsworth], whose correction I request, written in the Shimintang [Water Buffalo Studio] in the last decade of March, spring 1985, the yichou year, by the "White-Haired Schoolboy," Li Keran, in his seventy-eighth year.*

ARTIST SEALS<sup>75</sup>

Ruzi niu 孺子牛 rectangle intaglio

Robed figure under a tree square intaglio

Bai fa xuetong 白髮學童 square intaglio

Li 李 circle relief

Keran 可染 square intaglio

COLLECTOR SEALS

An Siyuan zhencang ji\* 安思遠珍藏記

square relief

An Siyuan jianshang yin\* 安思遠鑒賞

印 rectangle relief

One of the most highly regarded Chinese painters of the late twentieth century, Li Keran was born to poor parents on March 26, 1907, in the city of Xuzhou in northern Jiangsu Province. He showed early promise in painting and had attracted notice for his calligraphy by the age of nine. From 1923 to 1925, Li studied traditional Chinese painting at the Shanghai Art School, and in 1929 he entered the prestigious Xihu National Academy of Fine Arts in the city of Hangzhou, where he learned Western-style oil painting and drawing. During the war of resistance against Japan (1937–45), Li resided in Chongqing, the Chinese wartime capital, where he

participated in creating anti-Japanese propaganda posters. An exhibition of his works in 1942 led to his acquaintance with the famous painter Xu Beihong (1895–1961). After the war, Xu invited Li to teach at the National Art College and introduced him to the eminent artist Qi Baishi (1864–1957; cat. no. 14), who formally accepted Li as a student in 1947. The same year he also became a student of the equally distinguished landscape painter, Huang Binhong (1865–1955; cat. no. 20). After the founding of the People's Republic in 1949, Li was appointed to the Central Academy of Fine Arts in Beijing, where he became a full professor in 1956.

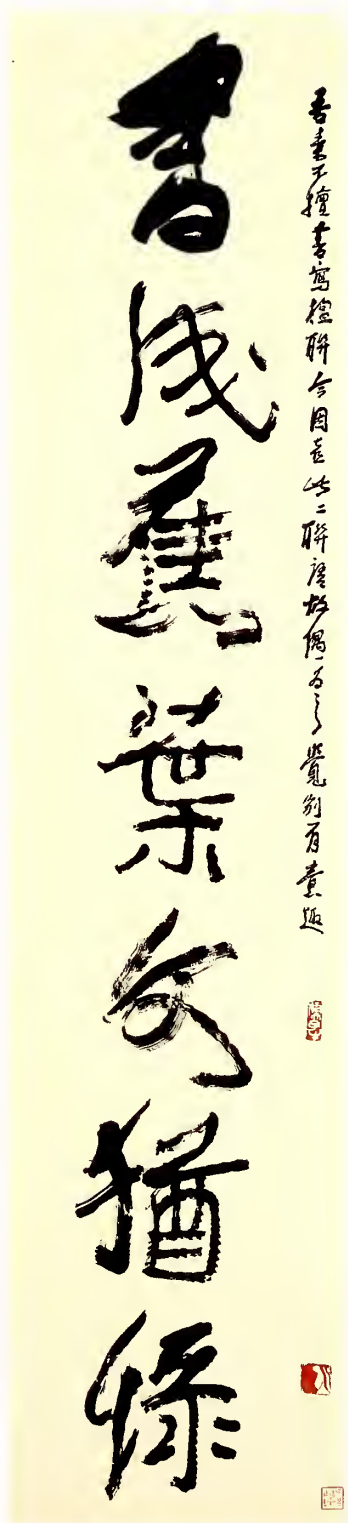


A target of political extremists during the Cultural Revolution (1966–76), he abandoned painting for some time and devoted himself instead to calligraphy, developing the personal style that was to distinguish his later works. Li resumed his career after 1976, and in 1986 he was appointed the first president of the Research Institute

of Chinese Painting. Despite ill health, Li Keran continued to write and paint until his death on December 5, 1989.<sup>75</sup>

Widely acclaimed as a painter of landscapes, animals (especially water buffalo), and figures, Li Keran is less well known for his calligraphy. He developed a unique style of calligraphy largely

derived from his study of early stone inscriptions and the crude forms of writing sometimes found on simple shop signs. As with his painting, Li strongly advocated the rigorous study of traditional styles and techniques while he simultaneously sought to transform this tradition into a visual idiom more suited to the tenor of modern times. He was painstaking in his approach and often reworked a text through several variations.<sup>76</sup> Maintaining a careful sense of spacing and balance in the overall composition, Li Keran's brushstrokes and use of ink are generally quite bold in their initial address and then become paler or more streaked as the subsequent structural elements of each character are formed. Specifically dedicated to Robert Hatfield Ellsworth in late March 1985, this couplet is an excellent example of Li Keran's late running script.<sup>77</sup>



Couplet,  
in running script

陸儼少 行書 對聯

Lu Yanshao (1909–1993)

Republic period, 1986

Pair of hanging scrolls; ink on paper

each 184.4 x 39.5 cm

F1997.85.1–2

疎松影落空壇靜，  
細草春香小洞幽。

安思遠先生正之。陸儼少書

*As shadows fall through the sparse pines, the empty altar is still,  
Spring is fragrant in the slender grass, the little cave lies hidden.*<sup>78</sup>

*For the correction of Mister An Siyuan [Robert Hatfield Ellsworth]; written  
by Lu Yanshao*

Lu Yanshao is widely recognized as one of the most important and original Chinese landscape painters of the late twentieth century. He was born on June 26, 1909, in Jiading, Jiangsu Province, where his father ran a rice shop. In 1922 he went to the nearby city of Shanghai to continue his education. There he received a firm grounding in classical Chinese studies and began his formal training in painting, calligraphy, and seal carving. Lu briefly attended art school in Wuxi, Jiangsu Province, and in 1927 he became a student of the famous painter Feng Chaoran (1882–1954). During the mid-1930s, he worked diligently on his calligraphy, studying the stone inscriptions of the Northern Wei dynasty (A.D. 386–535) for the first time and continuing to perfect his writing in various styles of the model-letters tradition (*tiexuepai*), which formed the foundation of

his training. When the war of resistance against Japan broke out in 1937, Lu made his way to the wartime capital in Chongqing, Sichuan Province. He began to experiment with the format of his paintings and also invented a new form of calligraphy derived from clerical script, which he practiced for several years but later abandoned. Lu returned to Jiading in 1946, and after the founding of the People's Republic in 1949, he moved permanently to Shanghai. In the mid-1950s he was assigned to take classes in cartoon drawing and then sent to work for a local bookstore, where he produced a number of illustrated books for general consumption. In 1957 he became a painter in the Shanghai Chinese Painting Academy, but the next year he was denounced during the "anti-rightist" campaign and lived under a cloud for four years. In 1962 Lu accepted a teaching

ARTIST SEALS

Jiading 嘉定 rectangle relief

Yanshao 儼少 square relief

Wanruo 宛若 square intaglio

COLLECTOR SEALS

An Siyuan zhencang ji★

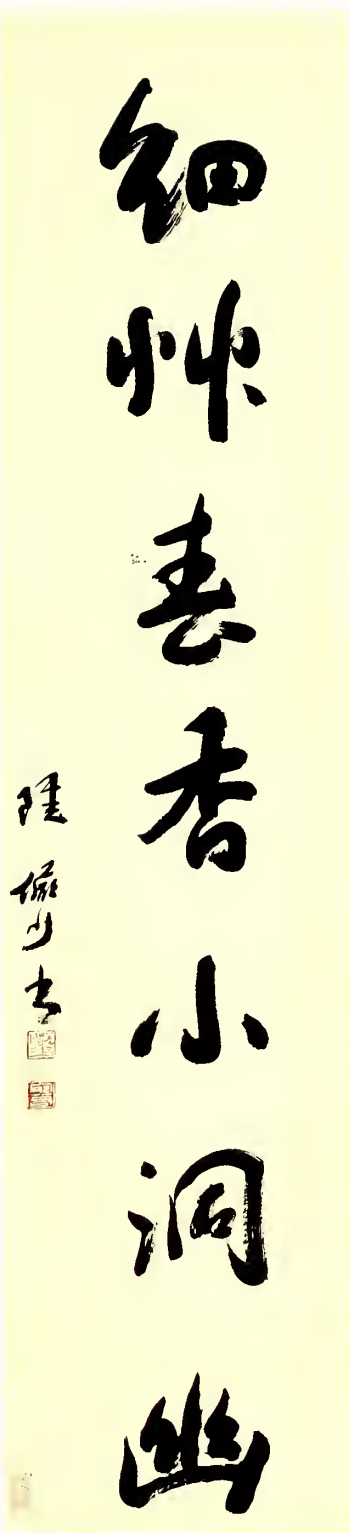
安思遠珍藏記 square relief

An Siyuan jianshang yin★

安思遠鑒賞印 rectangle relief

position at the Zhejiang Institute of Fine Arts in Hangzhou, Zhejiang Province, but he was persecuted again during the early years of the Cultural Revolution (1966–76) and only fully rehabilitated in 1978, some twenty years after his initial political problems had begun. The following year, Lu Yanshao was made a professor at the Institute of Fine Arts in Hangzhou and resumed openly teaching, painting, and exhibiting his works. He died on October 23, 1993.<sup>79</sup>

Although Lu Yanshao was a dedicated and conscientious practitioner of calligraphy throughout his life, his work in this field is far less well known than his painting and is seldom exhibited and rarely published. He worked in a wide range of styles and formats over his long career but always returned to the model-letters tradition he had first learned as a child. Characterized by a sense of fluid spon-



taneity, Lu Yanshao's calligraphy is confidently executed and supremely cultivated. As here, he often selected his subject matter from early Chinese literature. Commissioned by Robert Hatfield Ellsworth in 1986, this couplet is an excellent example of Lu Yanshao's late style of running script.<sup>80</sup>



The collection of the Freer Gallery of Art also contains one landscape painting by Lu Yanshao: F1998.225.2 (folding fan mounted as album leaf, 1931).

Couplet,  
in running-standard  
script

吳雲 行楷 對聯

Wu Yun (1811–1883)

Qing dynasty, mid- to late 19th century

Pair of hanging scrolls; ink on woodblock-printed paper

each 124.5 x 30.6 cm

F1997.59.1–.2

有古尊彝常保用，  
得名書畫謹收藏。

芋香世兄正之；平齋吳雲

*I shall forever protect the ancient bronzes in my possession,  
Carefully store the famous calligraphy and paintings I own.*

*For my old family friend Yuxiang to correct.*

Pingzhai Wu Yun<sup>81</sup>

Wu Yun is primarily known as a wealthy scholar, collector, and connoisseur of antiquities. A native of Gui'an, Zhejiang Province, he passed the provincial examinations (*juren*) and started his official career in 1844 in the offices of the prefect of Suzhou, Jiangsu Province. Soon after, he was made district magistrate of Baoshan and then was reappointed in 1849 for a second term. In 1858 he became prefect of Zhenjiang, on the Yangzi River in Jiangsu Province, and the following year prefect of Suzhou. At the time, the area was suffering from the depredations of the Taiping rebels. They captured Suzhou during Wu Yun's temporary absence in Shanghai, where he was engaged in negotiations with the Western powers for military aid. Blamed for losing the city, he was later exonerated and participated in organizing the defense of Shanghai. After serving

as prefect of Suzhou for some three years, he permanently retired from public office and devoted himself to his collections.<sup>82</sup>

Wu Yun's vast collection contained ancient bronzes and seals, works of painting and calligraphy, rubbings, and rare books. He owned some two hundred rubbings of the famous *Lanting ji xu* (Preface to gathering at the Orchid Pavilion) by Wang Xizhi (A.D. ca. 303–ca. 361), one of the most famous and influential of all works of calligraphy and fountainhead of the model-letters tradition (*tiexuepai*).<sup>83</sup> He also published several multivolume books about the ancient bronzes and seals in his collection, as well as about other ancient texts cast in metal or carved on stone.<sup>84</sup> The various objects in his collection were dispersed after his death, and many can be found in Western collections, including the Freer Gallery of Art.<sup>85</sup>

ARTIST SEALS

Wu Yun siyin 吳雲私印 square intaglio

Pingzhai 平齋 square relief

COLLECTOR SEALS

An Siyuan zhencang ji\* 安思遠珍藏記  
square relief

An Siyuan jianshang yin\* 安思遠鑒賞  
印 rectangle relief

有古尊彝常保用

芳香世瓦 百一

得名書畫謹收藏

平齋吳雲



A painter and calligrapher of some note, Wu Yun also served as a patron to many prominent scholars and artists, particularly those of the Stele School (*beixuepai*), such as Wu Xizai (1799–1870; cat. no. 10), He Shaoji (1799–1873; cat. no. 4), and Xu Sangeng (1826–1890; cat. no. 12). Most published examples of Wu Yun's calligraphy are rendered in either clerical script or running script. His running script, strongly influenced by the style of the Tang dynasty master Yan Zhenqing (A.D. 709–785), generally adheres to the elegance and decorum of the model-letters tradition. Addressing Wu's interests as a collector, this couplet is typical of his work in both content and style.<sup>86</sup>

The Freer Gallery of Art also contains a set of four hanging scrolls by Wu Yun: E1998.138.1–4 (running script, 1871).

Three Poems  
by Su Shi,  
in standard script

陳介祺 楷書  
東坡詩三首 軸

Chen Jieqi (1813–1884)

Qing dynasty, mid- to late 19th century

Hanging scroll; ink on bark paper

80.2 x 16.5 cm

F1997.60

才大古難用，論高常近迂，君看趙魏老，乃為滕大夫。  
浮雲無根蒂，黃潦能須臾，知經幾成敗，得見真賢愚。  
羽旄照城闕，談笑安邊隅，當年老使君，赤手降於菟。  
諸郎更何事，折箠鞭其雛，吾知鄧平叔，不鬥月支胡。

彼哉嵇阮曹，終以明自膏，靖節固昭曠，歸來侶蓬蒿。  
新霜著疎柳，大江起風濤，東籬理黃菊，意不在芳醪。  
白衣挈壺至，徑醉還游遨，悠然見南山，意與秋氣高。

世俗眩名實，至人疑有無，怒移水中蟹，愛及屋上烏。  
坐令此溪水，名與先生俱，先生本全德，廉退乃一隅。  
因拋彭澤米，偶似西山夫，遂即世所知，以為溪之呼。  
先生豈我輩，造物乃其徒，應同柳州柳，聊使愚溪愚。

霖宇二兄轉索劣書，即錄文忠詩三首求正，筆墨生疎，殊慚春蚓耳。陳介祺

[Second poem]<sup>88</sup>

Those fellows, the likes of Xi Kang and Ruan Ji,  
Ended by burning up the oil in their own lamps,  
But Jingjie for sure shone more brightly and far,  
Returning home to companion the weeds and brush.  
When new frost decked the sparse willows,  
And the Great River rose with wind and wave,  
By the eastern hedge he tended chrysanthemums,  
And his thoughts did not dwell on the fragrant lees.  
But when liveried servants came bearing a jug,  
He directly got drunk and returned to casual roaming,  
Far off and away he spied the Southern Mountain,  
And his thoughts were as high as the autumn air.

Linyu, my second "elder brother," sent around a request for my miserable calligraphy, so I have recorded three poems by Wenzhong [Su Shi] to solicit his correction. Because it has been some interval since I wrote anything, I am terribly ashamed of my earthwormlike scribblings.

Chen Jieqi<sup>89</sup>

ARTIST SEALS<sup>87</sup>

Jieqi zhi yin 介祺之印

square, half-intaglio half-relief

Shouqing 壽卿 square relief

Beihuaxuan 碑畫軒 square intaglio

COLLECTOR SEAL

Songbaohu cang\* 松瀑廬藏 square relief

才大古難用高常近迂君看趙魏老乃為滕大夫浮雲無根蒂黃潦能須臾知經幾成敗得見真賢愚羽旄照城闕談  
笑安邊隅當年老使君赤手降於菟諸郎更何事折筮鞭其難吾知鄧平封不鬥月支胡彼哉嵇阮曾終以明自膏  
靖節固昭曠歸來侶蓬蒿新霜著疎柳大江起風濤東籬理黃菊意在芳醪白衣挈壺至徑醉還游遨悠然見南  
山意與秋氣高世俗眩名實至人疑有無怒移水中蟬愛及屋上烏坐令此溪水名與先生俱先生本全德廉退乃一隅  
因拋彭澤米偶似西山夫遂即世所知以為溪之呼先生豈我輩造物乃其伎應同柳州柳聊使愚溪愚

霖宇二兄轉索劣書即錄文忠詩三首求正筆墨生疎殊慚春別耳

陳介祺



才大古難用論高常近迂

笑安邊隅當年老使君赤

靖節固昭曠歸來侶蓬蒿

山意與秋氣高世俗眩名

因拋彭澤米偶似西山夫



One of the most important collectors of the nineteenth century, Chen Jieqi was a native of Weixian, Shandong Province, and the son of Chen Guan jun (*jinsli* 1808), who served as minister of personnel and associate grand secretary from 1844 to 1849. Chen Jieqi himself passed the national examinations (*jinsli*) in 1845 and received a clerical position in the imperial Hanlin Academy. He was soon bored with government service, however, and retired to pursue the scholarly passion for antiquities that had been fanned by his earlier studies with the great scholar Ruan Yuan (1764–1849; cat. no. 3).<sup>90</sup>

Starting with the existing holdings of his family, Chen Jieqi assembled a vast collection that included several thousand rubbings of ancient inscriptions on metal and stone, thousands of ancient coins and metal seals, and hundreds of ancient bronze vessels, many of extraordinary size and quality. His collecting activities

also extended to early Buddhist sculpture, painting, calligraphy, and rare books. In an age of great private collections, Chen Jieqi's was considered by many to be the finest of its time. His collection was dispersed after his death, and many objects eventually made their way into foreign collections, including that of the Freer Gallery of Art.<sup>91</sup>

Chen Jieqi spent much of his life engaged in studying the many inscribed objects in his collection and in communicating about subjects of mutual interest with eminent scholars and collectors such as Wu Yun (1811–1883; cat. no. 17) and Pan Zuyin (1830–1890). Although Chen was highly admired by his contemporaries as a scholar and connoisseur, most of his own writings and descriptive catalogues were only published posthumously in the early twentieth century.<sup>92</sup>

As a wealthy and well-educated man of his times, Chen Jieqi was

fluent in all the usual forms of the model-letters tradition (*tiexuepai*), and was particularly influenced by the style of the Tang dynasty master Yan Zhenqing (A.D. 709–785). However, given Chen's scholarly interests in epigraphy and his close association with many calligraphers of the Stele School (*beixuepai*), it is not surprising that he also developed his own style of writing, which combines various elements of ancient seal, clerical, and standard script.<sup>93</sup> Though it lacks either the imposing character of Yan Zhenqing's calligraphy or the solid presence of ancient bronze and stone inscriptions, this exquisite and rare example of Chen Jieqi's small standard script is rendered with firm, elegant confidence. Each character reveals a carefully cultivated sense of internal balance, while the crisp, even brushwork displays an easy, natural flow.

The Freer Gallery of Art contains one other work of calligraphy by Chen Jieqi: F1998.142.1–2 (couplet, seal script, undated).

Couplet,  
in running script

端方 行書 對聯

Duanfang (1861–1911)

Qing dynasty, late 19th–early 20th century

Pair of hanging scrolls; ink on woodblock-printed paper

each 128.2 x 29.5 cm

FT997.64.1–2

書到用時方恨少；

事非經過不知難。

炳南仁兄大令屬。陶齋端方

*When it is time to use one's books, one regrets having read too few;  
If you have not experienced a thing, you do not know how hard it is.*

*For my kind "elder brother" Bingnan, the great commander;*

*Taozhai Duanfang<sup>24</sup>*

Duanfang was one of the greatest collectors of Chinese art at the end of the nineteenth century. Born on April 20, 1861, he lived during the turbulent waning years of the Qing dynasty (1644–1911). His ancestors were originally from Xiushui, Zhejiang Province, but had moved to Manchuria in the seventeenth century and were officially registered under the adopted Manchu surname Tohoro. Because of his family's loyal service, Duanfang was awarded an honorary licentiate degree (*yinsheng*) in his late teens and assigned to a series of low- and mid-level positions in the Board of Works. In 1882 he became a provincial graduate (*juren*) and soon earned a wide reputation for his talent and intelligence. Having aligned himself with reformers in the government, Duanfang was selected in July 1898 to oversee the newly established Bureau of Agriculture,

Industry, and Commerce in the capital, but he lost his post a few months later when the reform movement failed and the bureau was abolished. Despite this setback, he was soon appointed surveillance commissioner of Shaanxi Province and then promoted the following year to acting governor. From 1901 to 1905 he held a series of high-level appointments in various provinces, where he actively supported moderate reform programs in education and administration. Duanfang was one of five envoys sent to the United States and Europe for eight months in 1905–6 to observe constitutional forms of government. After his return, he was made governor-general of Jiangsu and Jiangxi Provinces and superintendent of foreign trade for southern ports. In these positions, he encouraged the modernization of industries along the lower Yangzi River. In 1909 Duanfang

ARTIST SEALS

*Duanfang yinxin* 端方印信 square intaglio

*Taofu* 陶父 square relief

COLLECTOR SEALS

*An Siyuan zhencang ji*\* 安思遠珍藏記

square relief

*An Siyuan jianshang yin*\* 安思遠鑒賞

印 triangle relief

served briefly as governor-general of Zhili Province (modern Hebei Province), and when several railways were nationalized in 1911, he was appointed superintendent of the proposed Guangzhou-Hankou-Chengdu line, which was to connect the coastal port city of Guangzhou (Canton) with the interior province of Sichuan. When Sichuan rebelled against the proposal, Duanfang was made acting governor-general and dispatched to suppress the uprising. He was murdered by his own disgruntled troops on November 27, 1911, shortly after entering the province.<sup>95</sup>

An advocate of modernization and governmental reform, Duanfang was nonetheless deeply devoted to studying and preserving China's traditional culture. He established schools and supported educational institutions, and he was an important patron to many artists, scholars, and other men of talent and ability. Among the foremost antiquarians of his day, Duanfang assembled an outstanding collection of ancient bronzes, jades, seals, sculpture, paintings, calligraphy, rare books, and rubbings.<sup>96</sup>

Most of Duanfang's published calligraphy consists of documents and correspondence. Few of his artistic endeavors are available for study. In these works, Duanfang mainly wrote in an orthodox form of running script in the model-letters tradition (*tiexuepai*), as seen here. Entirely conventional in both concept and execution, his calligraphy displays a fine sense of balance and proportion and is fully commensurate with his prominence as a collector and high government official.<sup>97</sup>



Couplet,  
in seal script

黃賓虹 篆書 對聯

Huang Binhong (1865–1955)

Republic period, mid-1940s–early 1950s

Pair of hanging scrolls; ink on paper

each 187.2 x 35.6 cm

F1997.78.1–2

語石清名郭有道，

畫梅微尚王元章。

釋文：語石清名郭有道，畫梅微尚王元章。康侯先生屬榮，賓虹集古籀文字並書。

*Discussing stones, you have the pure reputation of Guo Youdao;*

*Painting plum blossoms, you humbly esteem Wang Yuanzhang.<sup>99</sup>*

*Transcription: [same couplet written in standard script, right scroll]. Composed for the amusement of Mister Kanghou, [Huang] Binhong assembled and inscribed these characters of ancient seal script.<sup>100</sup>*

Huang Binhong is renowned as one of the foremost landscape painters of the twentieth century. Born on January 27, 1865, in the town of Jinhua, Zhejiang Province, where his father was a cloth merchant, he received a fine classical education and showed considerable promise in calligraphy, painting, and seal carving during his childhood. In 1883 Huang moved to Shexian, Anhui Province, where his family was officially registered, and resided there for most of the following twenty-four years. During this time, he made numerous long excursions and sketching tours throughout the Yangzi Delta region, where he had the opportunity to examine and copy many famous works of painting and calligraphy in private collections. He established a name for himself both

as a scholar in the field and as an up-and-coming painter in his own right and began to form his own collections of painting, calligraphy, and ancient seals. In the 1890s Huang became involved in anti-Manchu politics and fled briefly to Shanghai in 1899 to escape local charges of treason. In 1904 he was invited to run a school in the town of Wuhu, on the Yangzi River in Anhui Province, where he continued to promote revolutionary ideals. Finally, in the fall of 1907, political circumstances forced Huang to seek refuge again in Shanghai, where he lived for most of the next thirty years and was extremely active in the local arts community. In addition to serving as editor of a large collectanea of texts on Chinese art, he wrote for several art journals and joined various artists' associations.

ARTIST SEALS<sup>98</sup>

*Bingshang hongfei guan* 冰上鴻飛館

rectangle relief

*Huang Zhi Binhong* 黃質賓虹

square intaglio

*Huangshan shanzhong ren*

黃山山中人 square relief

COLLECTOR SEALS

*Songbaolin cang*\* 松瀑廬藏 square relief

*An Siyuan cang*\* 安思遠藏 square relief

證

石

繫

口

節

或

簡

釋文語石清名鄭有道盡梅微尚王元章

康侯先生 屬繁

書

果

枝

簡

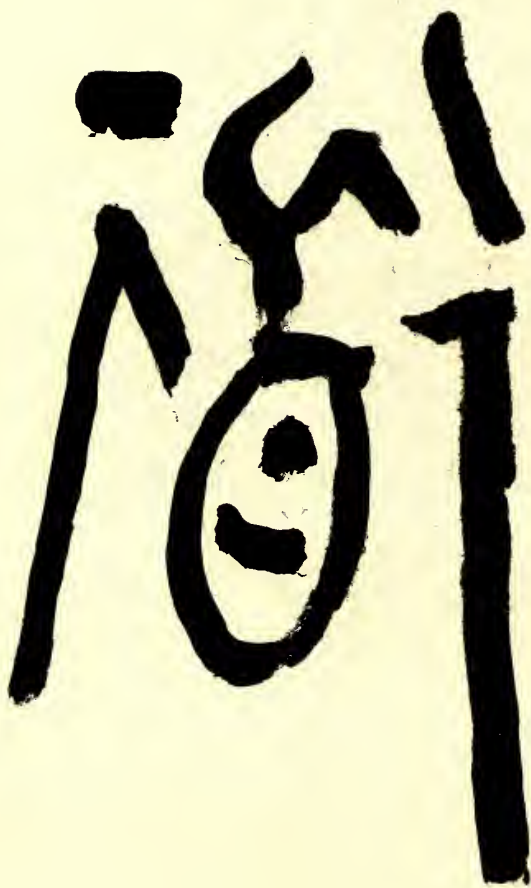
正

一

事

有以集古編文字并書

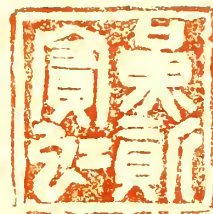




*Above:* Detail, seal script by Huang Binhong.

*Facing page, top:* Detail, seals of Huang Binhong (actual size). *Facing page, bottom:* Detail, signature of Huang Binhong.

He also kept busy publishing his own sketches, paintings, and theoretical writings, lecturing and teaching in a succession of local art schools and colleges, and continuing his travels around the country. In 1937 Huang moved to the capital to research and authenticate paintings in the Palace Museum and teach at a local art college. After Japanese forces occupied the city in July, he remained aloof from most public activities for the duration of the war. He resumed publishing in 1945, and in 1947 he formally took Li Keran (1907–1989; cat. no. 15) as his student. Now in his eighties, Huang strongly desired to return to the south, and in 1948 he accepted a position as professor at the Institute of Fine Arts in Hangzhou, Zhejiang Province. After the founding of the People's Republic in 1949, Huang was made a senior member of several national artists' associations and continued to write, teach, and paint. Starting in 1952, he suffered severely from



cataracts and then was diagnosed with stomach cancer. Huang Binhong died in Hangzhou on March 25, 1955.<sup>101</sup>

Firmly grounded in the traditional theory and methods of painting, Huang Binhong was also an important innovator and developed his own style. Although generally less well known as a calligrapher, he strongly emphasized calligraphy as the foundation for all brushwork and frequently addressed the subject in his writings.<sup>102</sup> Huang was especially interested in epigraphy and began his study of ancient seal script as early as 1889, an interest he augmented over the years with his own growing collection of antique bronze seals. Not surprisingly, most published examples of Huang Binhong's calligraphy are in seal script, especially couplets, many of which date to the 1940s and 1950s.<sup>103</sup> In his seal script, Huang was primarily concerned with exploring the structure and formation of the archaic

characters themselves rather than the expressive possibilities of brushwork.

The collection of the Freer Gallery of Art contains one other pair of hanging scrolls by Huang Binhong: F1998.247.1–.2 (seal script, undated). In addition, the Arthur M. Sackler Gallery contains thirty-six paintings by Huang Binhong: S1987.229–.264.



## 1. LIU YONG

1. The text of this seal records a gift of calligraphy written by the Qianlong emperor and presented to Liu Yong. The text reads: "Presented by the emperor. Eminent retainer from Haidai [Shandong Province]." The seal appears on a number of Liu's published works dating from the early to mid-1770s onward.

2. The first line refers to a famous comment about the calligraphy of Zhong You 鍾繇 (A.D. 151–230), which likens his writing to "a flying goose playing over the sea, or a dancing crane roaming the heavens" (鍾繇書... 若飛鴻戲海, 舞鶴遊天). See Yuan Ang 袁昂 (A.D. 461–540), *Gujin shuping* 古今書評, recorded in Zhang Yanyuan 張彥遠 (active mid- to late ninth century), comp., *Fashu yaolu* 法書要錄, p. 33, in *Yishu congbian* 藝術叢編, 1st ser., vol. 1 (Taipei: Shijie shuju, 1966). The calligrapher Dong Qichang (1555–1636) adapted a phrase from this same passage for one of his studio names, Xihongtang 戲鴻堂 (The Hall of the Playing Goose), under which he published his own sixteen-volume set of calligraphy rubbings in 1603, the *Xihongtang fashu* 戲鴻堂法書, one of the definitive compilations of the model-letters tradition and certainly among Liu Yong's primary sources for his study of traditional calligraphy.

Line two refers to a story about the Han dynasty scholar Liu Xiang 劉向 (ca. 79–ca. 6 B.C.), who once served at court in the position of collator of secret documents. In 26 B.C., Emperor Cheng 成帝 (reigned 33–7 B.C.) ordered a search for rare books throughout the empire, commanding that the manuscripts be collated and fair copies deposited in the imperial library. One night when Liu was working late at the office, an old man appeared who was dressed in yellow and carrying a walking stick made of goosefoot wood (*li* 藜, *Chenopodium album*). Seeing Liu alone in the dark chanting texts, he blew on the tip of his stick and a bright flame sprang out, illuminating the room. The old man elucidated the texts Liu was collating and vanished in the morning, saying he was a manifestation of the god Grand Unity (*taiyi zhi jing* 太乙之精). See *Sanfu huangtu* 三輔黃圖, 6:1a–b, in *Guang Han Wei congshu* 廣漢魏叢書, vol. 89 (n.p., preface 1592); or Wang Jia 王嘉 (died A.D. ca. 324), *Shiyi ji* 拾遺記, 6:11b–12a, in *Guang Han Wei congshu*, vol. 80. Often used for walking sticks, goosefoot wood produces a bright flame and was evidently employed on occasion for reading or working at night.

3. For a brief biography of Liu Yong in English, see the article by Knight Biggerstaff in *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period*, ed. Arthur W. Hummel (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1943), pp. 536–37. For Liu's official career, in addition to the Chinese sources

cited by Biggerstaff, see Cai Guanluo 蔡冠洛, *Qingdai qibai mingren zhuan* 清代七百名人傳 (Beijing: Zhongguo shudian, 1984), pp. 1855–57.

4. For discussions of Liu Yong's calligraphy, especially his running script, see Zhang Jinliang 張金梁, "Lun Liu Yong" 論劉墉, *Shufa yanjiu* 書法研究 74 (1996.6): pp. 90–103, especially pp. 95–97; Wang Dongling 王冬齡, "Nongmo zai-xiang he danmo tanhua" 濃墨宰相和淡墨探花, *Shupu* 書譜 68 (1986.1): pp. 72–80; Dashi 大施, "Liu Shu'an zi ru mian guo tie" 劉石菴字如綿裏鐵, *Shupu* 32 (1980): pp. 35–37; Xi Zhenguan 席臻貫, "Liu Yong hamo shizhi" 劉墉翰墨識志, *Shufa* 書法 16 (1981.1): pp. 25–26; Yi Peiyang 伊沛揚, "Liu Yong xingshu moji" 劉墉行書墨蹟, *Shufa congkan* 書法叢刊 18 (August 1989): pp. 90–91; and Nanzheng 南征, "Liu Yong lun Lu Ji Pingfu tie xingshu zhou" 劉墉論陸機《平復帖》行書軸, *Shufa congkan* 48 (1996.4): pp. 68–69.

5. Several representative selections of Liu Yong's calligraphy have been published, such as *Ryō Yō sakuhin shū* (jo) (ge) 劉墉作品集 (上) (下), *Shoseki meihin sōkan* 書跡名品叢刊, vols. 91–92 (Tokyo: Nigensha, 1968); *Ō Taku, Kin No, Ryō Yō* 王鐸, 金農, 劉墉, *Shodō geijutsu* 書道藝術, vol. 9 (Tokyo: Chuō-koronsha, 1976), pls. 127–54; *Min Shin no sho* 明清の書 (Osaka: Nihon Shogei-in, 1976), pp. 134–41; *Zhongguo meishu quanji: Shufa zhuanke bian* 6, *Qingdai shufa* 中國美術全集: 書法篆刻編 6, 清代書法 (Shanghai: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1989), pp. 102–7, pls. 101–7; *Du Fu caotang moji xuan* 杜甫草堂墨跡選 (Shanghai: Shanghai shuhua chubanshe, 1985), 2:1–14; and *Zhongguo shufa dacheng* 中國書法大成 (Beijing: Zhongguo shudian, 1990), 7:305–43. In addition, many of Liu Yong's works were reproduced as books of rubbings. The Freer Gallery's library contains two such nineteenth-century books that preserve numerous examples of Liu Yong's calligraphy: *Liu Wenqinggong fashu* 劉文清公法書, 4 vols. (Shanghai: 曙海樓, n.d.); and Wang Wanglin 王望霖, *Tianxianglou cang tie* 天香樓藏帖 (privately published, 1804), 8: first eleven pages (no pagination). Other similar collections of his works were also printed.

For several examples of couplets written by Liu Yong in various styles of running script, sometimes using sized and decorated paper, see *Shohin* 書品 116 (February 1961): p. 78; *Guotai meishuguan xuanji* 國泰美術館選集, vol. 1 (Taipei: Guotai meishuguan, 1977), p. 69 (same text as previous couplet except one character changed); *Lezai xuan cang lian* 樂在軒藏聯 (*Lok Tsai Hsien Collection of Calligraphy in Couplets*) (Hong Kong: Art Gallery, Institute of Chinese Studies, Chinese University of Hong Kong, 1972), pls. 17–18; *Shupu* 書譜 32 (February 1980): inside front cover; *Shufa* 書法 34 (1984.1): p. 8; *Yinglian moji xuanji* 楹聯墨跡選集 (Beijing: Rongbaozhan,



1985), p. 57; *Du Fu caotang moji xuan*, 1:18; *Shufa* 53 (1987.2): inside back cover; and (*Xiaomang-cangcangzhai cang*) *Qingdai xuezhe fashu xuanji* (小菴蒼蒼齋藏) 清代學者法書選集 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1995), no. 32 (on silk decorated with hand-painted fruits and flowers).

## 2. WANG WENZHI

6. The text of this seal, *Shiye shanfeng* 柿葉山房 (The Persimmon Leaf Studio), records the name Wang Wenzhi gave to his studio in Zhenjiang after his retirement from public service in 1767. Although Wang is not usually thought of as a seal carver, he personally carved both this and at least one of his other seals on the scroll, *Wenzhang taishou* 文章太守 (The prefect of literature).

7. This poem describes the scenery in the vicinity of modern Wuhan 武漢, a large city located on the central Yangzi River at its confluence with the Han River. The tower in the poem refers to the famous Yellow Crane Pavilion (*Huanghelou* 黃鶴樓), which overlooks the confluence of the two rivers from the south bank of the Yangzi. Ezhu 鄂渚 is the name of a nearby island. *Falling Plum Blossoms* (*Luomeihua* 落梅花, or *Luomeifeng* 落梅風) is the title of a fourth-century musical composition for the flute (*di* 笛). The earliest known lyrics for the tune were composed by the poet Bao Zhao 鮑照 (A.D. ca. 412–466), who mourned the evanescence of life and beauty in his short balladic poem “Plum Blossoms Fall” (*Meihualuo* 梅花落). See Ding Fubao 丁福保, comp., *Quwan Han Sanguo Jin Nanbeichao shi* 全漢三國晉南北朝詩 (Beijing: Zhongguo shuju, 1959), 2:680. The association of flute (*di*) music with the Yellow Crane Pavilion comes from the story of the immortal Fei Wenyi 費文禕. After becoming an immortal, Fei passed through the Wuhan area and took to drinking wine every day at the shop of a Mr. Xin 辛氏. He always drank from a very large goblet but did not pay for the wine, and neither did Mr. Xin request payment. To requite him, Fei used the skin of an orange to draw a yellow crane on the wall of Mr. Xin’s shop that would entertain the patrons by strutting and dancing in time to songs and music. The shop soon became famous, and the Xin family grew quite wealthy. Ten years later, Fei reappeared and asked if his debt was now clear. When Mr. Xin assured him that it was, Fei took out his flute and began to play. Immediately, white clouds descended from the sky, while the painted crane came to life and detached itself from the wall. Fei then mounted the crane and flew off into the clouds, never to be seen again. The Xin family later built the Yellow Crane Pavilion on the spot from which Fei had departed. See *Yonxiang liexian quanzhuan* 有象列仙全傳 (postscript 1620), comp. attributed to Wang Shizhen 汪世貞 (1526–1590), in *Zhongguo minjian*

*xiuyang zihao huibian* 中國民間信仰資料彙編 (Taipei: Taiwan xuesheng shuju, 1989), 6:619–20.

8. For a more detailed biography of Wang Wenzhi in English, see the article by Tu Lien-che in *Eminent Chinese of the Ch’ing Period*, ed. Arthur W. Hummel (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1943), pp. 840–41.

9. For discussions of Wang Wenzhi’s calligraphy, see Wang Dongling 王冬齡, “Nongmo zaixiang he danmo tanhua” 濃墨宰相和淡墨探花, *Shupu* 書譜 68 (1986.1): pp. 72–80; Wan Yi 萬依, “Wang Wenzhi ji qi shufa” 王文治及其書法, *Shufa congkan* 書法叢刊 16 (December 1988): pp. 68–74; Lü Liu 綠柳, “Qingdai Zhenjiang jiechu shufajia Wang Wenzhi” 清代鎮江傑出書法家王文治, *Shufa congkan* 26 (June 1991): pp. 69–70, pls. on pp. 71–88; and Li Wancai 李萬才, “Ping Qingdai shujia Wang Wenzhi ji qi Kuaiyutang ouanshui” 評清代書家王文治及其《快雨堂偶然書》, *Shufa congkan* 27 (September 1991): pp. 63–65, pls. 1–24 on pp. 66–89.

For additional examples of hanging scrolls with poems by Wang Wenzhi written in running script, see *Guotai meishuguan xuanji* 國泰美術館選集, vol. 4 (Taipei: Guotai meishuguan, 1978), p. 73 (quatrain in seven-character lines, 1801); Akai Kiyomi 赤井清美, *Chūgoku shodōshi* 中國書道史 (Tokyo: Tōkyōdō, 1979), p. 759 (quatrain in seven-character lines); William Willets, *Chinese Calligraphy: Its History and Aesthetic Motivation* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980), p. 153 (quatrain in seven-character lines); *Du Fu caotang moji xuan* 杜甫草堂墨跡選 (Shanghai: Shanghai shuhua chubanshe, 1985), 1:20 (regulated verse in seven-character lines); *Shufa* 書法 42 (1985.3): inside back cover (two regulated verses in seven-character lines); *Zhongguo meishu quanji: Shufa zhuanke bian* 6, *Qingdai shufa* 中國美術全集: 書法篆刻編 6, 清代書法 (Shanghai: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1985), p. 111 (regulated verse in five-character lines, 1786); *Zhongguo shufa dacheng* 中國書法大成 (Beijing: Zhongguo shudian, 1990), 7:370 (regulated verse in five-character lines); *Shufa congkan* 26 (June 1991): p. 87 (regulated verse in five-character lines), p. 88 (quatrain in seven-character lines).

## 3. RUAN YUAN

10. Annotations to Ruan Yuan’s poem:

*Lines 1–2.* The poet Su Shi 蘇軾 (A.D. 1037–1101) obtained his famous Snow Wave Stone from the Taihang Mountains in Hebei Province (see note 12).

*Lines 3–4.* “Flower-and-stone convoys” (*Huashigang* 花石綱) was the name given to the continuous shipments of tribute articles, mainly rare plants and valuable stones, that traveled up the Grand Canal from the lower Yangzi Delta region to the Northern Song capital at Kaifeng

開封, Henan Province, during the reign of Emperor Huizong 徽宗 (reigned 1100–1125), who was engaged in building a large pleasure garden outside the city. For a brief discussion in English, see Herbert Franke, ed., *Sung Personalities*, 3 vols. (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1976), 1:291–95. These convoys ended with the collapse of the Northern Song dynasty in 1126–27 and the subsequent occupation of northern China by a foreign dynasty.

The Bian River 汴河 connected the Grand Canal in Jiangsu Province to Kaifeng.

The Snow Wave Studio was the name Su Shi gave to his residence in Dingzhou 定州, Hebei Province.

*Lines 7–8.* The precise geographical definitions of the river, Black Water (Heishui 黑水), and province, Liangzhou 梁州, are somewhat uncertain, however the terms come from the “Yugong” 禹貢 (Tribute of Yu) chapter of the ancient *Shujing* 書經 (Classic of history), where Black Water is presented as the southern boundary of Liangzhou province in western China. The name probably refers to the section of the Jinsha 金沙 River that still defines much of the border between Sichuan and Yunnan Provinces. In any case, the place names here clearly indicate the border of southwestern China, beyond which lay Yunnan. Shortly before the Song dynasty established itself in China proper, a kingdom calling itself Dali 大理 (A.D. 937–1094) came to power in Yunnan. Its capital was located in the city of Dali. After Song armies pacified the area of Sichuan Province to the north of Dali in A.D. 965, one of the victorious generals brought a map to Emperor Taizu 太祖 (reigned A.D. 960–975), recommending that he seize the opportunity to conquer Dali as well. Occupied with more pressing concerns elsewhere, the emperor responded by using his ceremonial jade axe (*yufu* 玉斧) to draw an imaginary line along the Dadu River 大渡河 (the Jinsha River), saying, “Beyond this is not Our possession” (此外非吾有也). From that time, Dali governed as a fully independent sovereign state and coexisted in peace with the Song. This episode is recounted in the *Nanzhao yeshi* 南詔野史 (Unofficial history of Nanzhao), compiled in the sixteenth century. See Mu Qm 木芹, *Nanzhao yeshi huizheng* 南詔野史會證 (Kunming: Yunnan renmin chubanshe, 1990), p. 228.

*Lines 9–10.* Like his contemporary Su Shi, the painter Sun Zhiwei 孫知微 (active late tenth–early eleventh century) was a native of Sichuan Province. He is primarily known for his murals and scroll paintings of Daoist and Buddhist subjects, but according to Su, who was evidently quite familiar with his works, he was also particularly skillful at rendering water in motion. On this aspect of Sun Zhiwei’s painting, see Su Shi’s “Introduction to the Inscription on the Basin of the Snow Wave

Stone” (discussed in note 12). See also Su’s prose colophon, “Shu Pu Yongsheng hua hou” 書浦永昇畫後 (Written at the end of a painting by Pu Yongsheng), *Dongpo ji* 東坡集, 23:12b–13a, in *Su Dongpo quanji* 蘇東坡全集, vol. 10 (reprint of a Song dynasty woodblock edition belonging to Duanfang [1861–1911; cat. no. 19], privately published, 1908–9).

The Diancang Mountains 點蒼山 lie directly west of Dali city and are an important source of picture-stone marble.

Lines 15–16. Erhai 洱海 is the name of a lake located directly east of Dali city.

Su Shi was stationed in Dingzhou when he discovered and wrote about the Snow Wave Stone.

Lines 19–20. The final line of the poem is adapted from a passage in chapter 21 of the ancient Daoist text *Zhuangzi* 莊子, which relates the story of an encounter between Confucius and a sage by the name of Wenbo Xuezi 溫伯雪子 (Master Snow), whom Confucius had long wished to meet. When the opportunity finally arrived, Confucius said nothing to Xuezi. Afterward, a disciple asked Confucius about his silence, and the master replied, “As soon as I laid eyes on that man, [it was clear] that the Way was present in him, so there was no room to speak” (若夫人者, 目擊而道存矣, 亦不可以容聲矣). For the full text of this anecdote, see *Zhuangzi yinde* 莊子引得 (A concordance to Chuang Tzu), Harvard–Yenching Institute Sino-logical Index Series, supp. 20 (Peiping: Harvard–Yenching Institute, 1947), pp. 54–55, lines 7–14.

11. Boyuan 伯元 was Ruan Yuan’s courtesy name, and Yanjing laoren 挈經老人 was one of his sobriquets. On this scroll, they are used respectively in his signature and on the lower of his two seals. The individual named Yuanxiu to whom Ruan Yuan dedicated this scroll is unknown at present.

12. Su Shi wrote his twenty-line poem in the winter of A.D. 1093–94 when he was stationed at Dingzhou 定州 in western Hebei Province below the Taihang Mountains. Here he collected a large wave-shaped rock that he named the Snow Wave Stone. Su Shi’s old-style poem “The Snow Wave Stone” and a regulated verse (*lǜshī* 律詩) with the same title constitute the first two in a cycle of three poems that he wrote at this time to follow the rhymes of earlier poems by his friend Teng Xijing 滕希靖. See “Ciyun Teng daifu san shou: Xuelangshi” 次韻滕大夫三首: 雪浪石 (“Three poems following the rhymes of Grandee Teng: The Snow Wave Stone”), in *Su Wenzhonggong shi bianzhun jicheng* 蘇文忠公詩編註集成, comp. Liang Tongshu 梁同書 (1723–1815) (Hangzhou: Yunshantang, 1819), 37:4a–5b. Su Shi also provided a rhymed inscription for the stone, which is preceded by a prose introduction (*xu* 序) that explains how

he found the stone and what he did with it: “In the back garden [of my official residence] at Zhongshan [Dingzhou], I obtained a black rock with white veins that looked as if Sun Wei [active late ninth century] or Sun Zhiwei [active late tenth–early eleventh century] from Shu had painted into the stone every variation of flowing water. I also obtained a white rock from [nearby] Quyang and made a great basin to hold it, and running water over the top, I called my residence the Snow Wave Studio.” For the full text of the rhymed inscription and prose introduction, see “Xuelangshi pen ming” 雪浪石盆銘 (Inscription for the basin of the Snow Wave Stone), also called “Xuelangzhai ming” 雪浪齋銘 (Inscription for the Snow Wave Studio), *Dongpo xiji* 東坡續集, 10:17b–18a, in *Su Dongpo quanji* (reprint of a Song dynasty woodblock edition belonging to Duanfang [1861–1911; cat. no. 19], privately published, 1908–9).

While the Snow Wave Stone had evidently vanished by Ruan Yuan’s time, its large lotus-flower basin bearing the carved text of Su’s rhymed inscription in running script was still extant. It was recorded and described, for example, by Ruan’s older friend and colleague Wang Chang 王昶 (1725–1806), in his *Jinshi caibian* 金石萃編 (n.p.: Qingxuntang, preface 1805), 141:1a–b. The “Inscription for the Basin of the Snow Wave Stone” also influenced and inspired other contemporaries of Ruan Yuan, such as calligrapher Deng Shiru (1743–1805; cat. no. 9). One of Deng’s earliest extant works is an album version of the text with the prose introduction written in seal script and the rhymed inscription written in clerical script. See *Deng Shiru shufa zhuanke quanji* 鄧石如書法篆刻全集, 3 vols. (Hefei: Anhui meishu chubanshe, 1993), 1:1–11 (pages 9 and 10 are reversed in this reproduction).

13. For a brief biography of Ruan Yuan in English, see the article by Fang Chao-ying in *Eminent Chinese of the Ch’ing Period*, ed. Arthur W. Hummel (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1943), pp. 399–402. The most complete biography of Ruan Yuan, especially his public career, was assembled from disparate texts written by various followers and three of his sons and titled *Leitang’an zhu di zi ji* 雷塘庵主弟子記, which has recently been republished, along with additional biographical material, under the title *Ruan Yuan nianpu* 阮元年譜 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1995). In addition to the Chinese sources listed or quoted in these two works, see Miao Quansun 繆荃孫 (1844–1919), comp., *Xu beizhuan ji* 續碑傳集 (n.p.: Jiang Chu bianyi shuju, 1910), 3:14a–21a; Cai Guanluo 蔡冠洛, *Qingdai qibai mingren zhuan* 清代七百名人傳 (Beijing: Zhongguo shudian, 1984), pp. 1646–53; and Tong Yiming 童一鳴, “Ruan Yuan nianbiao” 阮元年表, in *Shufa yanjiu* 書法研究 78 (1997): pp. 114–20.

For an annotated translation into French of the Ruan Yuan biography composed by Li Yuandu 李元度 (1821–1887), see A. Vissière, “Biographie de Jouàn Yuàn,” *T’oung Pao*, 2d ser., 5 (1904): pp. 561–96.

14. For example, Ruan Yuan founded important educational academies in Hangzhou (Gujing jingshe 誥經精舍, 1801) and Guangzhou (Xuehaitang 學海堂, 1820) and established libraries at Buddhist monasteries outside Hangzhou (Lingyin shucang 靈隱書藏, 1809) and at Jiaoshan (Jiaoshan shucang 焦山書藏, 1813).

15. Ruan Yuan’s works on ancient Chinese epigraphy include a record of bronze and stone inscriptions in Shandong Province (*Shanzuo jinshi zhi* 山左金石志, printed 1796), compiled in collaboration with the eminent collector and epigrapher Bi Yuan 畢沅 (1730–1797); a reprint of rare Song dynasty rubbings of ancient bronzes in the collection of Wang Houzhi 王厚之 (*jinshi* 1166), with extensive commentary written by Ruan Yuan in clerical script (*Zhongding kuanzhi* 鐘鼎款識, 1802); rubbings of the inscriptions on ancient bronze vessels and implements in Ruan’s own collection and those of several contemporaries, with transcriptions and commentary (*Jiqinzhai zhongding yiqi kuanzhi* 積古齋鐘鼎彝器款識, printed 1804); a study of early stone inscriptions from the Yanxi reign period (A.D. 158–167) of the Eastern Han dynasty (*Han Yanxi xiye Huashan bei kao* 漢延熹西嶽華山碑考, printed 1813); and a record of metal and stone inscriptions in Zhejiang Province from the Qin through Yuan dynasties (*Liang Zhe jinshi zhi* 兩浙金石志, printed 1824).

In regard to brush-written calligraphy, Ruan’s observations and comments on certain works in the imperial collection are included in his *Shiqi suibi* 石渠隨筆 (printed 1842). For annotated texts of Ruan Yuan’s two famous essays on the northern and southern lineages of Chinese calligraphy, see Hua Rende 華人德, *Nanbei shupai lun beibe nantie lun zhu* 南北書派論北碑南帖論注 (Shanghai: Shanghai shuhua chubanshe, 1987).

16. For a general selection of Ruan Yuan’s calligraphy, see *Zhongguo shufa dacheng* 中國書法大成 (Beijing: Zhongguo shudian, 1990), 8:58–63.

For examples of other hanging scrolls in running script, see *Shufa congkan* 書法叢刊 20 (December, 1989): p. 90 (poem, 1813); *Jinshijia zhencang shuhua ji* 金石家珍藏書畫集, 2 vols. (Taipei: Datong shuju, 1977), reprint of *Jinshijia shuhua ji* 金石家書畫集 (Shanghai: Xiling yinshu, 1938), 1:129 (prose text about the Diancang Mountains and Dali picture stones, 1836); and (*Xiaomang cangcangzhai cang*) *Qingdai xuezheshu xuanji* (小莽蒼齋藏) 清代學者書畫選

集 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1995), no. 92 (two poems, 1826).

For a handscroll frontispiece in seal script, see *Lanqian shangguan shuhua: Shu ji* 蘭千山館書畫: 書蹟 (Tokyo: Nigensha, 1978), p. 10.

For examples of Ruan's clerical script, see *Zhongding kuanzhi* (1802), commentary by Ruan Yuan; Na Zhiliang 那志良, ed., *Chūgoku rekidai hōsho meiseki zenshū* 中國歷代法書名蹟全集 (Tokyo: Tōkyōdō, 1979), p. 32 (couplet); *Ming Qing yinglian moji xuan* 明清楹聯墨跡選 (Changchun: Changchun shi guji shudian, 1983), p. 62 (couplet, 1848); Zhang Yuzhi 張育之, "Ruan Yuan lin *Han yiying bei*" 阮元臨《漢乙瑛碑》, *Shupu* 書譜 77 (1987.4): pp. 60–61 (hanging scroll); and *Shufa congkan* 19 (September 1989): p. 36 (couplet, 1848).

For examples of colophons by Ruan Yuan, see *Lidai minghua daguan: Tiba shufa* 歷代名畫大觀: 題跋書法, 2 vols. (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian chubanshe, 1997), 2:226 (attached to a handscroll painting by Xi Gang [1746–1803, cat. no. 6] together with colophon by Wang Wenzhi [1730–1802; cat. no. 2]), and 2:242–43.

17. Ruan Yuan seems to have become attracted to picture stones fairly early in his career, an interest he evidently pursued with particular enthusiasm during his tenure in Yunnan (1826–35), the primary source for this kind of marble. In 1832 Ruan Yuan wrote about his collection of Dali picture stones in *Shilua ji* 石畫記 (Record of picture stones), which originally had five chapters (*juan* 卷). He subsequently added to the text some six times, increasing the number of chapters to fourteen. The whole text was later published in *Xuehaitang congke* 學海堂叢刻. For a screen-mounted Dali picture stone once owned and inscribed by Ruan Yuan in 1808, see Paul Moss, *Emperor, Scholar, Artisan, Monk: The Creative Personality in Chinese Works of Art* (London: Sydney L. Moss, 1984), pp. 214–15. For another pair of framed Dali picture stones inscribed by Ruan Yuan and mounted for hanging, see Paul Moss and Brian Harkins, *When Man and Mountains Meet: Chinese and Japanese Spirit Rocks* (London: Sydney L. Moss, 1995), no. 42 (for additional picture stones, some inscribed by other nineteenth-century collectors, see nos. 43–48).

#### 4. HE SHAOJI

18. These two lines describe objects commonly found on the desk of a Chinese scholar. The inkstone has a well with one sloping side used for grinding a stick or block of solid ink, which generally contains an aromatic substance such as musk. When freshly mixed with water, Chinese ink often has a slightly greenish cast (see also couplet, cat. no. 15). The second line describes the kind of miniature landscape known in Chinese as *peijing* 盆景 (Japanese: *bousai*), which is created by the artful arrangement of

unusual rocks, mosses, and miniature trees in special bowls or basins that can be placed on a table or desk.

19. For a brief biography of He Shaoji in English, see the article by Li Man-kuei in *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period*, ed. Arthur W. Hummel (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1943), pp. 287–88. In addition to the Chinese biographical sources cited there, see Cai Guanluo 蔡冠洛, *Qingren qibai mingren zhuan* 清人七百名名人傳 (Beijing: Zhongguo shudian, 1984), pp. 1857–59; He Shuzhi 何書置, ed., *He Shaoji shuhua xuan zhu* 何紹基書論選注 (Changsha: Hunan meishu chubanshe, 1988), pp. 204–23; and Mei Mosheng 梅墨生, "He Shaoji nianbiao" 何紹基年表, *Zhongguo shufa quanji* 70: *Qingdai, He Shaoji* 中國書法全集 70: 清代, 何紹基 (Beijing: Rongbaozhai, 1994), pp. 322–40.

20. For articles discussing He Shaoji's stylistic development, his unique method of writing, and the broad range of his achievements as a calligrapher, see Mai Yongshen 麥永深, "Yilu gongye de wanqing shufajia: He Shaoji" 一壚共治的晚清書法家: 何紹基, *Shupu* 書譜 32 (February 1980): pp. 25–27; Li Chan 李潺, "Huiwan zaofa fei danfeng, huayan rujing zou jiaolong: Xi He Shaoji de shufa chuangxin" 回腕造法飛丹鳳, 化顏入境走蛟龍: 析何紹基的書法創新, *Shufa* 書法 78 (1991.3): pp. 43–44; Wang Qichu 王啓初, "He Shaoji shuyi de xingcheng ji tedian" 何紹基書藝的形成及特點, *Zhongguo shufa* 中國書法 27 (1991.3): pp. 17–19; Zhang Rongsheng 張容生, "He Shaoji ji qi xingshushi zhou" 何紹基及其行書詩軸, *Shufa congkan* 書法叢刊 27 (September 1991): pp. 90–91; Mei Mosheng, "He Shaoji shufa pingzhuan" 何紹基書法評傳, *Zhongguo shufa quanji* 70: *Qingdai, He Shaoji* (Beijing: Rongbaozhai, 1994), pp. 1–19; Zhou Xianglin 周祥林, "He Shaoji: Wenren zhuiqiu fei wenren shufa de chenggong xianxingzhe" 何紹基: 文人追求非文人書法的成功先行者, *Zhongguo shufa* 48 (1995.4): pp. 31–32; Chao Weimin 巢偉民, "He Shaoji shuo" 何紹基說, *Shufa yanjiu* 書法研究 69 (1996.1): pp. 119–23; Xiao-xuan 曉玄, "He Shaoji he tade shufa yishu" 何紹基和他的書法藝術, *Shufa congkan* 49 (1997.1): pp. 72–76, figs. on pp. 77–96; Jiang Yihan 姜一涵, "He Shaoji yu Deng Shiru zhi duibi: He, Deng zai Zhongguo shushishang diwei zhi chonggu" 何紹基與鄧石如之對比: 何、鄧在中國書史上地位之重估, *Jinian He Shaoji erbai zhounian daohen: Haixia liang'an xueshu yantaohui* 紀年何紹基二百週年誕辰: 海峽兩岸學術研討會 (Paper delivered at international conference on the 200th anniversary of He Shaoji's birthday), Taiwan Normal University, November 1, 1998, pp. 1–35 (the author has seen only an offprint of this one article from the conference; other papers on He

Shaoji were delivered and published on this occasion as well).

21. He Shaoji's works are both widely disseminated and published. For several publications containing a varied selection of his works, including numerous couplets written in running script, see *He Shaoji zhenopin ji* 何紹基作品集, in *Shoseki meihin sōkan* 書跡名品叢刊, vol. 110 (Tokyo: Nigensha, 1969); *Tō Sekijo, Ka Shoki, Chō Shiken* 鄧石如, 何紹基, 趙之謙 (Tokyo: Chūō-koronsha, 1976), pls. 95–122; *Min Shin no sho* 明清の書 (Osaka: Nihon Shogei-in, 1976), 2:59–69; *Chūgoku rekidai hōsho meiseki zenshū* 中國歷代法書名蹟全集, vol. 9 (Tokyo: Tōkyōdō, 1979), pp. 74–92; *He Shaoji moji xuanhui* 何紹基墨跡選匯 (Changsha: Hunan meishu chubanshe, 1983); *Zhongguo shufa dacheng* 中國書法大成 (Beijing: Zhongguo shudian, 1990), 8:262–72; *Zhongguo shufa* 27 (1991.3): pp. 20–30; *Zhongguo shufa quanji* 70: *Qingdai, He Shaoji* (Beijing: Rongbaozhai, 1994); and *Zhongguo shufa* 48 (1995.4): pp. 33–43, inside front cover, inside back cover.

#### 5. JIANG REN

22. While apparently genuine, the two artist seals after Jiang Ren's signature may be replacements or may have been added at some point after the couplet was created.

23. A number of Qing dynasty individuals are recorded with the sobriquet Yipu 藝圃 (Gardener). None of them, however, has been clearly identified as the uncle to whom Jiang Ren dedicated this couplet. Jiang Ren commonly used two sobriquets, Jiluo jushi 吉羅居士 and Shantang 山堂, as seen in his signature and one of the seals on this work.

24. For selected comments about Jiang Ren's life and twelve of his seals, see Ding Ren 丁仁, ed., *Xiling bajia yinxuan* 西冷八家印選 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1991), pp. 10–12, 115–130.

25. For other published examples of couplets written by Jiang Ren in running script, see *Jinshijia zhencang shuhua ji* 金石家珍藏書畫集, 2 vols. (Taipei: Datong shuju, 1977), reprint of *Jinshijia shuhua ji* 金石家書畫集 (Shanghai: Xiling yinshe, 1938), 1:86, 2:416 (dated 1795), or the same two couplets in *Zhongguo shufa dacheng* 中國書法大成 (Beijing: Zhongguo shudian, 1990), 8:214–15; *Min Shin no sho* 明清の書 (Osaka: Nihon Shogei-in, 1976), 1:128; *Guotai meishuguan xuanji* 國泰美術館選集, vol. 1 (Taipei: Guotai meishuguan, 1977), p. 77; and *Ming Qing yinglian moji xuan* 明清楹聯墨跡選 (Changchun: Changchun shi guji shudian, 1983), p. 43. For other hanging scrolls in running script, see *Mingren shuhua ji* 名人書畫集 (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1921), 3: pl.

13, 8; pl. 11, 13; pl. 15 (no pagination); and *Shufa congkan* 書法叢刊 19 (September 1989): p. 17. For a couplet written in clerical script, see *Lezaixuan canglian* 樂在軒藏聯 (*Lok Tsai Hsien Collection of Calligraphy in Couplets*) (Hong Kong: Art Gallery, Institute of Chinese Studies, Chinese University of Hong Kong, 1972), pl. 29.

## 6. XI GANG

26. Both seals belonged to the same collector, a currently unknown individual named Peiyi 佩乙.

27. Xi Gang often signed and sealed his works using a number of alternate names, four of which appear on these two scrolls. Mengquan waishi 蒙泉外史 and Sanmu jushi 散木居士 are two of his sobriquets, while Sanmu caotang 散木草堂 and Donghua'an 冬華廬 are studio names.

28. For selected comments about Xi Gang's life and art, along with thirty of his seals, see Ding Ren 丁仁, ed., *Xiling bajia yinxuan* 西冷八家印選 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1991), pp. 14–17, 163–92. For the tragic last years of Xi Gang's life, see Yunren 雲人, "Xi Gang wanian zao eyun" 奚岡晚年遭厄運, *Shupu* 書譜 20 (1978.1): p. 20–21.

29. Published examples of Xi Gang's running script far outnumber those in clerical script. For five other works in clerical script, see *Mingren shuhua* 名人書畫 (Shanghai: Shangwu ymshuguan, 1920–22), 7 (1920): pl. 13 (handscroll, 1793), 20 (1922): pls. 17–20 (4-scroll set, undated); *Jinshijia zhencang shuhua ji* 金石家珍藏書畫集, 2 vols. (Taipei: Datong shuju, 1977), reprint of *Jinshijia shuhua ji* 金石家書畫集 (Shanghai: Xiling yinshe, 1938), 1:112–13 (hanging scroll, undated; couplet, undated); and *Zhongguo shufa tongjian* 中國書法通覽 ([Zhengzhou]: Henan meishu chubanshe, 1988), p. 867, top middle (hanging scroll, undated).

## 7. CHEN HONGSHOU

30. Chen Hongshou's courtesy name was Zigong 子恭, and his most common sobriquet was Mansheng 曼生. He used many other names over the course of his artistic career, including Jiagu tingzhang 夾谷亭長, as seen in one of his seals here.

31. Lu and Wang refer to the eminent seventh-century Tang dynasty court poets Lu Zhaolin 盧照鄰 (A.D. ca. 634–ca. 684) and Wang Bo 王勃 (A.D. ca. 650–ca. 676). Yan and Xie refer to two leading poets of the fifth century, Yan Yanzhi 顏延之 (A.D. 384–456) and Xie Lingyun 謝靈運 (A.D. 385–443).

32. For selected comments about Chen Hongshou and fifty-one of his seals, see Ding Ren

丁仁, ed., *Xiling bajia yinxuan* 西冷八家印選 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1991), pp. 19–21, 249–300. On Chen Hongshou and Yixing pottery, see Terese Tse Bartholomew, *I-Hsing Ware* (New York: China Institute in America, 1977), pp. 17–18, 36–41 (teapots), 106–107 (flower paintings), 108 (calligraphy in clerical script); and K. S. Lo, *The Stonewares of Yixing from the Ming Period to the Present Day* (Hong Kong: Sotheby's Publications, Hong Kong University Press, 1986), pp. 95–107.

33. On Chen Hongshou's clerical script and its Han dynasty antecedents, see Wang Dongling 王冬齡, "Chen Mansheng de shufa zhuanke yishu" 陳曼生的書法篆刻藝術, *Shupu* 書譜 58 (1984.3): pp. 66–69, especially pp. 66–67; Nishikawa Nei (or Yasushi) 西川寧, "Chin Kōju no kotodomo" 陳鴻壽のことども, *Shohin* 書品 11 (November–December, 1950): pp. 2–4; and Matsui Joryū 松井如流, "Chin Mansei" 陳曼生, *Shohin* 11 (November–December, 1950): p. 5. Wang Dongling lists three particular Eastern Han rock inscriptions that exerted a profound influence on Chen Hongshou's clerical script. Commemorating local road projects, these texts were originally carved on cliff walls in southwestern Shaanxi Province near the southern terminus of one of the main routes over the Qinling mountain range between the ancient capital of Xi'an and Sichuan Province. None of the original texts is extant today, though modern recut versions evidently exist. All three texts were first recorded in the twelfth century during the Song dynasty but were probably known to Chen Hongshou only through rubbings made closer to his own time. The earliest rock inscription is the *Kaitong Baoxiadao* 開通褒斜道 (Opening the Baoxie Road), carved in A.D. 66. See *Shoseki meihin sōkan* 書跡美品叢刊, vol. 42 (Tokyo: Nigensha, 1968); and Matsui Joryū, "Kaitsū Hoshadō sekkoku" 開通褒斜道石刻, *Shohin* 38 (April 1953): pp. 50–52, who specifically notes the influence of this early Eastern Han text on the seal carving of both Chen Hongshou and Zhao Zhiqian (1829–1884; cat. no. 11). The second text, commonly called the *Shimen song* 石門頌 (Eulogy on Stone Gate), was carved in A.D. 148. See *Shoseki meihin sōkan*, vol. 31 (Tokyo: Nigensha, 1969). The third Eastern Han text noted by Wang Dongling is the *Yang Huai biaobei* 楊淮表碑 (Memorial stele of Yang Huai), which was carved in A.D. 173. See *Shoseki meihin sōkan*, vol. 87 (Tokyo: Nigensha, 1969).

34. For other examples of couplets by Chen Hongshou using various styles of clerical script, see *Shohin* 11 (November–December 1950): pls. 2, 3, and 8; *Teichin Tōhō Bijutsukan: Kaikan kiunen tenan mokuroku* 定靜東方美術館: 開館記念展覧目録 (Tokyo: Teichin Toho Bijutsukan, 1970), p. 45, pl. 25; *Lezaixuan canglian*

*zhanlan* 樂在軒藏聯展覽 (*Exhibition of Lok Tsai Hsien Collection of Calligraphy in Couplets*) (Hong Kong: Chinese University of Hong Kong, Art Gallery, 1972), pl. 44; *Ming Shu no sho* 明清の書 (Osaka: Nihon Shogei-in, 1976), pp. 173–74; *Guotai meishuguan xuanji* 國泰美術館選集, vol. 2 (Taipei: Guotai meishuguan, 1977), p. 50; *Guotai meishuguan xuanji*, vol. 3 (Taipei: Guotai meishuguan, 1978), p. 78; *Lanqian shan-guan shuhua: Shuji* 蘭千山館書畫: 書蹟 (Tokyo: Nigensha, 1978), 1:175, pl. 78; *Ming Qing yinglian moji xuan* 明清楹聯墨跡選 (Changchun: Changchun shi guji shudian, 1983), pp. 53–54, 59–60; *Shupu* 書譜 58 (1984.3): p. 66; *Li Shiceng xiansheng yizeng shuhua mulu* 李石曾先生遺贈書畫目錄 (Taipei: National Palace Museum, 1986), p. 43; *Lingnan shuyi* 嶺南書藝 17 (1989.4): pp. 4–5; *Zhongguo meishu quanji: Shufa zhuanke bian* 6, *Qingdai shufa* 中國美術全集: 書法篆刻編 6, 清代書法 (Shanghai: Shanghai shuhua chubanshe, 1989), p. 150, pl. 156; *Zhongguo shufa dacheng* 中國書法大成 (Beijing: Zhongguo shudian, 1991), 8:77–78; *Lidai mingren yinglian moji* 歷代名人楹聯墨跡 (Shanghai: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1991), pp. 91–99 (nine couplets); and Tamamura Seizan 玉村霽山, comp., *Chūgoku shodoshū nenpyō* 中國書道史年表 (Tokyo: Nigensha, 1998), p. 99 (same text as *Guotai meishuguan xuanji*, 2:50, but different style of clerical script).

## 8. ZHAO ZHICHEN

35. The exact meaning of the last four-character phrase is somewhat uncertain. This translation of the line follows the notes of Hong Gua 洪适 (1117–1184) in his *Li shi* 隸釋 (n.p., 1871), 11:7b–8a, and is intended only to provide a general idea of the phrase.

36. As seen in his signature, Zhao Zhichen's courtesy name was Cixian 次閑. Zhao was deeply devoted to Buddhism, and the text of one of his seals, *Fentuolihua* 芬陀利華, is a Chinese transliteration of the Sanskrit word *pundarika*, the white lotus, which is a Buddhist symbol signifying enlightenment and rebirth.

37. In some sources, the year of Zhao Zhichen's death is given as 1860, but the correct date of 1852 has been confirmed by the modern scholar Chen Jun 陳軍 in his articles "Zhao Zhichen nianbiao" 趙之琛年表, *Xiling yicong* 西冷藝叢 24 (1990.3): pp. 49–55, 11, and "Zhao Zhichen zunian kao" 趙之琛卒年考, *Shanghai bowuguan jikan* 上海博物館集刊 5 (1990): p. 49.

For selected comments about Zhao Zhichen and 131 of his seals, see Ding Ren 丁仁, ed., *Xiling bajia yinxuan* 西冷八家印選 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1991), pp. 21–23, 301–436. The book on ancient seal script that Zhao helped to produce under Ruan Yuan (1764–1849) was *Jiguzhai zhongding yiqi kuanzhi* 積古齋鐘鼎彝器款識 (preface 1804); see also

cat. no. 3, note 15. For examples of Zhao Zhichen's own works in seal script, see *Min Shiu no sho* 明清の書 (Osaka: Nihon Shogei-in, 1976), 2:26 (hanging scroll); *Lidai mingren yinglian moji* 歷代名人楹聯墨跡 (Shanghai: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1991), p. 341 (couplet); and Chen Jun, "Zhao Zhichen he tade *Lin jinwen zhou*" 趙之琛和他的《臨金文》軸, *Shufa congkan* 書法叢刊 25 (1991.3): pp. 80–81.

38. The earliest known reference to this stele is a colophon from A.D. 1064 written on a rubbing of the text by the famous scholar and epigrapher Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修 (A.D. 1007–1072) and recorded in his *Jigulu bawei* 集古錄跋尾 (n.p., preface 1835), 3:21b–22a. A full transcription of the text was published a century later in 1177 by Hong Gua in *Li shi*, 11:6b–7a. For a list of other historical references, see *Shike tihua suoyin* 石刻題跋索引 (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1957), p. 20.

39. This rubbing of the recut text bears a colophon by the scholar Zhao Guolin 趙國麟 (1673–1751) describing his purchase of the scroll. Toward the end of the eighteenth century, the scroll was acquired by the great epigrapher and seal carver Huang Yi 黃易 (1744–1801), who along with Zhao Zhichen is considered one of the Eight Masters of Xiling. Huang published an outline copy of the text together with other collected rubbings of early stone inscriptions in his *Xiaopenglaige jinshi wenzi* 小蓬萊閣金石文字, vol. 3 (n.p.: Lingtiaoguan, 1842); for the passage quoted here, see 3:7b–9a (separate pagination). Two additional colophons are appended to the rubbing, one by the scholar Weng Fanggang 翁方綱 (1733–1818) and one by Huang Yi himself, both of whom conclude that this rubbing was made from a recut text. Weng Fanggang's colophon is also recorded in *Suzhai tihua* 蘇齋題跋, in *Yishu congbian* 藝術叢編 (Taipei: Shijie shuju, 1962), 26:39–40 (separate pagination), and a slightly different version of the same comments is in his *Liang Han jinshi ji* 兩漢金石記 (privately published, 1789), 16:12b.

Huang Yi formally grouped his rubbing of the Memorial Stele for Qiao Min with four other rubbings of Han texts, calling them the *Hanbei wuzhong* 漢碑五種 (Five steles from the Han dynasty). The collector Duanfang (1861–1911; cat. no. 19) acquired them at the end of the nineteenth century, and they later entered the collection of the Palace Museum, Beijing. According to Zhang Yansheng 張彥生, *Shanben beinic lu* 善本碑帖錄 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1984), p. 40, at least one other rubbing of the Memorial Stele for Qiao Min is known today. In addition, two versions are recorded in other sources. See Lu Zengxiang 陸增祥 (1816–1882), *Baqionshi jinshi buzheng* 八瓊室金石補正 (1925; reprint, Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1985), p. 31; and Ouyang Fu 歐陽輔, *Jigu qiuzhen* 集古求真

(1923; reprint, Hong Kong: Zhongguo shuhua yanjiuhui, 1971), p. 20. In addition, sections from an unidentified version of the rubbing were recently published in *Hanli jingpin daguan* 漢隸精品大觀 (Shijiazhuang: Hebei renmin chubanshe, 1996), pp. 459–79, especially pp. 470–73. It is not certain which version was the one that inspired Zhao Zhichen, but Huang Yi's seems the most likely. The rediscovered text provided material for other contemporaries as well, such as Chen Hongshou (1768–1822; cat. no. 7), who produced the last section of the same passage seen here on his own hanging scroll. See *Lingnan shuyi* 嶺南書藝 17 (1989.4): p. 7.

40. Zhao Zhichen produced at least two other undated works quoting passages from the Memorial Stele for Qiao Min. One is a different excerpt of identical length. See *Shupu* 書譜 16 (June 1977): p. 4. The other is a much longer, four-scroll excerpt from the text, the third scroll of which also includes the present passage. See *Jinshijia zhenzang shuhua ji* 金石家珍藏書畫集, 2 vols. (Taipei: Datong shuju, 1977), reprint of *Jinshijia shuhua ji* 金石家書畫集 (Shanghai: Xiling yinshu, 1935), 1:196–97. This four-scroll set is also published in *Zhongguo shufa dacheng* 中國書法大成, 8 vols. (Beijing: Zhongguo shudian chubanshe, 1991), 8:209–10.

For other examples of Zhao Zhichen's clerical script, see *Lanqian shangnan shuhua: Shuji* 蘭千山館書畫: 書蹟 (Tokyo: Nigensha, 1978), 2:180 (couplet); *Min Shiu no sho*, 2:27 (couplet); *Lezai xuan canglian zhanlan* 樂在軒藏聯展覽 (*Exhibition of Lok Tsai Hsien Collection of Calligraphy in Couplets*) (Hong Kong: Chinese University of Hong Kong, Institute of Chinese Studies, Art Gallery, 1972), no. 52 (couplet); and (*Xiaomangcangcangzhai cang*) *Qingdai xuezhe fashu xuanji* (小莽蒼蒼齋藏) 清代學者法書選集 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1995), no. 160 (handscroll, poem, 1849).

## 9. DENG SHIRU

41. Yan 琰 was Deng Shiru's given name (*ming* 名), as used in his signature and accompanying seal. Because of the taboo on the use of characters appearing in an emperor's name, when the Jiaqing 嘉慶 emperor (reigned 1796–1820), whose given name was Yongyan 顒琰, ascended the imperial throne, Deng was obliged to switch to signing works with his courtesy name Shiru 石如, by which he is commonly known. Over his career, Deng also adopted numerous sobriquets, such as Wanbai shanren 完白山人, which the writers of the second colophon and outside label (see note 46) used in referring to him.

42. Jia Zhen belonged to a prominent family of officials from Gucheng 故城 in Hebei Province. As seen in his signature and one of his seals, his alternate names were Tuiya 退崖 and

Yunzhu 運主, and his studio name was Gongzihouzhai 躬自厚齋. Jia passed the national examinations (*jinshi*) in 1832 and went on to an illustrious career as a high official in the provinces, particularly from 1849 to 1861 in Henan and Anhui Provinces, where he distinguished himself in both civil and military affairs. Mainly known as an author and poet, Jia Zhen was also well regarded in his day as a calligrapher.

43. Shaowen was the courtesy name of Li Bingyang 李冰陽 (active A.D. ca. 759–780), the leading practitioner of seal script during the Tang dynasty (A.D. 618–907). His approach dominated the writing of seal script until the appearance of Deng Shiru, who returned to more ancient models.

44. Zhuang Jindu was from Changzhou 常州 in Jiangsu Province. His courtesy name was Meishu 眉叔, and Peizhai 裴齋 was his sobriquet. He passed the national examinations (*jinshi*) in 1836 and received a low-level appointment in the central government. Primarily known as a poet, Zhuang also earned a reputation for his calligraphy in standard script. As indicated in the previous colophon, he received this scroll in 1848 as a gift from Jia Zhen. Since there was no room following his tiny inscription at left, Zhuang added his collector seal on the right side of the scroll, fourth from the bottom.

45. Li Si 李斯 and Cheng Miao 程邈 were important calligraphers of the Qin dynasty (221–206 B.C.). Li Si is credited with inventing the standardized form of small seal script (*xiaozhuan*), as used in this scroll, while Cheng Miao is primarily remembered for his pivotal role in the development of clerical script.

46. Unless otherwise indicated, the individuals represented by these collector seals are currently unknown.

There is an outside label on the scroll, which reads 完白山人書; 癸丑二月重裝, 觀川居士題 (Calligraphy by Wanbai shanren [Deng Shiru]; remounted second month of the *guichou* year [1853], inscribed by Guanchuan jushi). Guanchuan jushi was a sobriquet of Hong Shuzu 洪述祖, who lived during the nineteenth century. Little is known about him. He evidently wrote the label slip when the scroll was remounted the year after the death of the previous owner, Zhuang Jindu (1799–1852), who wrote the second inscription on the scroll (see note 44).

47. For a brief biography of Deng Shiru in English, see Hiromu Momose's article in *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period*, ed. Arthur W. Hummel (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1943), pp. 715–16. For modern Chinese chronologies of his life, see

Mu Xiaotian 穆孝天 and Xu Jiaqiong 許佳璵, "Deng Shiru nianpu" 鄧石如年譜, in *Deng Shiru yanjiu ziliao* 鄧石如研究資料 (Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1988), pp. 73–111; "Deng Shiru nianbiao" 鄧石如年表, in *Zhongguo shufa quanji* 67: *Qingdai, Deng Shimu* 中國書法全集 67: 清代, 鄧石如 (Beijing: Rongbaozhai chubanshe, 1995), pp. 294–303; and "Deng Shiru nianpu" 鄧石如年譜, in *Deng Shiru shufa zhuanke quanji* 鄧石如書法篆刻全集, 3 vols. (Hefei: Anhui meishu chubanshe, 1993), 3:127–53. All three of these works contain other important articles and information on Deng Shiru's life and art.

48. The *Yijing* 易經 is organized around a set of sixty-four hexagrams, each of which consists of a different combination of six solid (hard) and broken (soft) lines arranged horizontally one above the other. According to tradition, the individual hexagrams and the system for understanding them were devised around 1140 B.C. by King Wen, founder of the Zhou dynasty (周文王). Sometime afterward, his son Dan, the Duke of Zhou (周公旦), is said to have composed a corresponding group of terse interpretations for the hexagrams, known as the "Judgments." Five centuries later, the philosopher Confucius (551–479 B.C.) strongly advocated rigorous study of the *Yijing* and is credited with writing an important commentary on the "Judgments," which became closely attached to the original text. Combined with other commentaries attributed to Confucius and his followers, the resulting book was subsequently included among the core works in the official Confucian canon and has been consulted in China ever since, both as a fortune-telling manual and as a guide to appropriate conduct. Each hexagram in the *Yijing* bears a descriptive name that provides a key to its symbolic meaning and application. For this scroll, Deng selected a passage from the Confucian commentary attached to hexagram forty-six, called "Sheng" 升 (Rising). The passage first explains the symbolic relationship of the broken (soft) and solid (hard) lines within the hexagram and then quotes and elucidates the Duke of Zhou's somewhat ambiguous "Judgment." A mandatory part of the traditional educational curriculum, the *Yijing* remains familiar to most literate members of Chinese society even in modern times. For the full text of this hexagram and a modern interpretation, see Gao Heng 高亨, *Zhouyi Dazhuan jinzhun* 周易大傳今注 ([Jinan]: Qi Lu shushe, 1979), pp. 389–91.

The other two early works by Deng Shiru quoting passages from the *Yijing* are both dated 1781. One is in the Shanghai Museum of Art, and the other is in the Palace Museum, Beijing. See either *Tō Sekijo, Ka Shoki, Chō Shiken* 鄧石如, 何紹基, 趙之謙 (Tokyo: Chuo koronsha, 1976), pls. 1–2; *Zhongguo shufa quanji* 67: *Qingdai*,

*Deng Shimu* (Beijing: Rongbaozhai chubanshe, 1995), pp. 28–29, pls. 2–3; or *Deng Shiru shufa zhuanke quanji*, 3 vols. (Hefei: Anhui meishu chubanshe, 1993), 1:12–13.

#### 10. WU XIZAI

49. Originally named Tingyang 延颺, Wu Xizai went by a number of alternate names and sobriquets over the course of his career. His most commonly used sobriquet was Rangzhi 讓之, as seen in the signature and one of his seals on this couplet. Wu's earlier works are generally signed and sealed with his original given name Tingyang and courtesy name Xizai. One dated work using this formula is the 1843 frontispiece to a handscroll in the Freer Gallery collection. See Shen Fu, Glenn Lowry, and Ann Yonemura, *From Concept to Context: Approaches to Asian and Islamic Calligraphy* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1986), pp. 60–61. About 1848, when he was in his fiftieth year, Wu dropped the name Tingyang and began to sign works using only his courtesy name Xizai and sobriquet Rangzhi, as here. In late 1861, when Zaichun 載淳, the Tongzhi emperor (reigned November 1861–January 1875), ascended the throne, Wu was forced to abandon the name Xizai in order to avoid the taboo on using any character in an emperor's given name (*zai* 載). Works with the Xizai-Rangzhi signature and seals can therefore be roughly dated to the period between 1848 and late 1861. In addition, Wu later changed the written character for "Rang" from 讓 to 攘. The identity of Boqing, the individual to whom Wu dedicated this couplet, is uncertain at this time.

50. For a brief discussion in English of Wu Xizai's life and art (mainly painting), see Ju-hsi Chou's article in Claudia Brown and Ju-hsi Chou, *Transcending Turmoil: Painting at the Close of China's Empire, 1796–1911* ([Phoenix]: Phoenix Art Museum, 1992), pp. 248–49. For his time in Taizhou, see Zhu Xuechun 朱學純, "Wu Rangzhi yu Tai ersanshi" 吳讓之寓泰二三事, *Shufa* 書法 35 (1984.2): pp. 38–40. See also the collection of essays in *Go Jōshi no shoga tenkoku* 吳讓之の書畫篆刻 (Tokyo: Nigensha, 1978); and Takahata Tsunenobu 高畑常信, "Go Jōshi ni ataetai 'Yizhou shuangji' no eikyō" 吳讓之にあてた《藝舟雙楫》の影響, *Shoron* 書論 16 (1980): p. 130–57.

Like all Chinese calligraphers, both Wu Xizai and Wu Yun (1811–1883; cat. no. 17) had a strong interest in the *Lanting ji xu* 蘭亭集序 (Preface to gathering at the Orchid Pavilion), composed and written by the famous calligrapher Wang Xizhi 王羲之 (A.D. ca. 303–ca. 361). Wu Yun in fact collected some two hundred different versions of this famous prose text. For a fascinating example of the *Preface* written by Wu Yun together with an accompanying version

written by Wu Xizai and dedicated to Wu Yun, see Naitō Torajirō 内藤虎次郎 (1866–1934), *Shincho shogafu* 清朝書畫譜 (Osaka: Haku-bundo, 1916), pl. 34 (no pagination).

51. For examples and discussion of Wu Xizai's seal carving, see *Wu Rangzhi yinpu* 吳讓之印譜 (Shanghai: Shanghai shuhua chubanshe, 1983); *Wu Rangzhi ziping yingao* 吳讓之自評印稿 (Yangzhou: Yangzhou guji shudian, 1992); *Chūgoku tenkoku sōkan* 中國篆刻叢刊, vols. 23–25 (Tokyo: Nigensha, 1980–84); and Huang Gangsheng 黃港生, "Wu Rangzhi de zhuanke" 吳讓之的篆刻, *Shupu* 書譜 55 (1983.6): pp. 10–11.

For a good example of the close stylistic relationship between Deng Shiru (1743–1805; cat. no. 9) and Wu Xizai, see their respective versions of the same clerical-script couplet. Deng Shiru produced at least two different versions of the couplet, published respectively in Robert Hatfield Ellsworth, *Later Chinese Painting and Calligraphy: 1800–1950*, 3 vols. (New York: Random House, 1987), 3:16, pl. C010–02 (now in the collection of the Freer Gallery of Art, F1997.48.1–2); and *Deng Shiru shufa zhuanke quanji* 鄧石如書法篆刻全集, 3 vols. (Hefei: Anhui meishu chubanshe, 1999), 1:459. Wu Xizai's version of the couplet is published in *Yinglian moji xuanji* 楹聯墨跡選集 (Beijing: Rongbaozhai, 1983), p. 52.

On Wu Xizai's relationship with Bao Shichen (1775–1855), see Takahata Tsunenobu, "Go Jōshi ni ataetai 'Yizhou shuangji' no eikyō," pp. 154–57; and Jiang Jingfen 蔣靜芬, "Jia Dao shiqi Yangzhou shutan jujiang Bao Shichen Wu Xizai" 嘉道時期揚州書壇巨匠包世臣吳熙載, *Shufa congkan* 書法叢刊 24 (December 1990): 10–11. Bao Shichen also composed two essays for Wu Xizai, the first to answer nine questions posed by Wu about the art of calligraphy (1831), and the second a private letter to him (1833). See Zhu Jia 祝嘉, comp., *Yizhou shuangji shuzheng* 藝舟雙楫疏證 (Hong Kong: Zhonghua shuju, 1978), pp. 71–86, pp. 127–30.

52. For other examples of couplets in clerical script written in seven-character lines and bearing the same Rangzhi–Wu Xizai signature found here, see *Min Shin no sho* 明清の書, 2 vols. (Osaka: Nihon Shogei-in, 1976), 2:39, 44; *Yinglian moji xuanji*, p. 52; *Zhongguo meishu quanji: Shufa zhuanke bian* 6, *Qingdai shufa* 中國美術全集: 書法篆刻編 6, 清代書法 (Shanghai: Shanghai shuhua chubanshe, 1989), p. 165, pl. 175; and *Lidai mingren yinglian moji* 歷代名人楹聯墨跡 (Shanghai: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1991), p. 148.

For clerical-script couplets using longer lines, see Takashima Kikujirō 高島菊次郎, *Kaiankyō rakuiji* 槐安居樂事 (Tokyo: Kyūryūdō, 1964), pl. 271 (eight-character lines, dated 1861); *Ming Qing yinglian moji xuan* 明清楹聯

墨跡選 (Changchun: Changchun shi guji shu-dian, 1983), p. 84 (eight-character lines); and *Yinglian moji xuanji*, p. 53 (twelve-character lines).

During his earlier years, Wu Xizai was at least briefly influenced by the clerical-script experiments of Chen Hongshou (1768–1822; cat. no. 7), as evidenced by his couplet published in *Lidai mingren yinglian moji*, p. 147. He also produced copies of various Han dynasty stele inscriptions. See, for example, *Min Shin no sho*, 2:37 (hanging scroll, dated 1853); *Jinshijia zhen-cang shuhua ji* 金石家珍藏書畫集, 2 vols. (Taipei: Datong shuju, 1977), reprint of *Jinshijia shuhua ji* 金石家書畫集 (Shanghai: Xiling yinshu, 1938), 1:252–55 (set of eight hanging scrolls, dated 1867); and *Zhongguo shufa dacheng* 中國書法大成, 8 vols. (Beijing: Zhongguo shudian, 1990), 8:257–59 (two examples).

Wu Xizai sometimes employed clerical script to render favorite texts from early literary or historical sources, such as the set of four hanging scrolls recording a famous prose work by Yuan Hong 袁宏 (A.D. 328–376). See *Shufa* 書法 31 (1983.4): pp. 60–61. As indicated by the handscroll frontispiece cited in note 49, he also used clerical script in various other contexts and formats. See, for example, *Zhongguo meishu quanji: Shufa zhuanke bian* 6, p. 166, pl. 174 (folding fan); and *Min Shin no sho*, 2:47 top (folding fan), 51 top (folding fan), and 52–53 (horizontal scroll).

## 11. ZHAO ZHIQIAN

53. Huishu 摛叔 was Zhao's courtesy name. Impressions of these two undated intaglio seals are published in Qian Juntao 錢君匋, comp., *Zhao Zhiqian* 趙之謙 (Hangzhou: Zhejiang renmin meishu chubanshe, 1987), nos. 163, 166 (no pagination). As a seal carver, Zhao was strongly influenced by the works of both Ding Jing 丁敬 (1695–1765), founder of the Zhejiang School, and Deng Shiru (1743–1805; cat. no. 9), founder of the Anhui School. Known for the wide diversity of his sources and models, Zhao created a synthesis of the two schools. He was admired for the way he wielded his carving knife like a brush and treated the surface of the stone as if it were a sheet of blank paper.

54. Each line in this couplet consists of two rhymed three-character phrases. The first phrase in line one alludes to two passages in the ancient *Yijing* 易經, hexagram forty-nine, *Ge* 革 (Revolution, or Molting): “Nine in the fifth line means: The great man changes like a tiger” (九五: 大人虎變); and “Six in the top line means: The superior man changes like a leopard” (上六: 君子豹變). The idea is that when tigers and leopards change (that is, molt) in accordance with the rhythms of nature, the markings on their fur form clear patterns. Similarly, during a time of great change, both the leader and his

assistants provide clear guidelines for others to follow in the formation of a new social and political order. On the *Yijing*, see also Deng Shiru, cat. no. 9, note 48. For the full context of these phrases and a modern interpretation, see Gao Heng 高亨, *Zhou Yi Dazhuan jinzhuyi* 周易大傳今注 ([Ji'nan]: Qi Lu shushe, 1979), pp. 410–11. According to ancient Chinese belief, great changes in the human world are presaged or accompanied by directly correlating changes in the natural world and can often be observed in and interpreted from the shifting manifestations of meteorological phenomena (*qixiang* 氣象), which serve as the “signs of nature.” Therefore, the first line of the couplet means that when the great man exerts his transformative influences, they are immediately observable in nature.

In Chinese tradition, the mythological “phoenix” (*feng* 鳳 is the male bird, and *huang* 皇 or 凰 is the female bird) only appears in times of peace and good government. The phoenix can also be taken as a metaphor for a good and worthy individual. When such an era occurs, or when such an individual is given free rein, then writing (or literature) will naturally reach glorious heights.

55. Xueyan 雪巖, the individual to whom Zhao dedicated this couplet, is currently unknown.

56. For brief discussions in English of Zhao Zhiqian's life and art, see Tu Lien-che's article in *Emminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period*, ed. Arthur W. Hummel (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1943), p. 70; and Ju-hsi Chou's two articles and the extensive list of references contained in his notes in Claudia Brown and Ju-hsi Chou, *Transcending Turmoil: Painting at the Close of China's Empire, 1796–1911* ([Phoenix]: Phoenix Art Museum, 1992), pp. 240–47, 256–60, 354–56. See also Zhao Zhiqian's obituary by the collector Pan Zuyin 潘祖蔭 (1830–1890), Zhao's friend and patron, reprinted in *Bei'an shengmo: Fashu* 悲盦臚墨: 法書 (Taipei: Zhonghua shuhua chubanshe, 1977), pp. 13–20; Cai Guanluo 蔡冠洛, *Qingdai qibai mingren zhuan* 清代七百名名人傳 (Beijing: Zhongguo shudian, 1984), pp. 1861–62; Zhao Erchang 趙而昌, “Zhao Zhiqian de shengping: Jinian Zhao Zhiqian shishi yibai zhounian” 趙之謙的生平: 記年趙之謙逝世一百周年, *Duo-yun* 朵雲 7 (November 1984): pp. 199–208, 122; “Zhao Zhiqian dashi ji” 趙之謙大事記, in *Zhao Zhiqian*, comp. Qian Juntao (Hangzhou: Zhejiang renmin meishu chubanshe, 1987) (no pagination); and “Zhao Zhiqian nianbiao” 趙之謙年表, appended to Zhao Zhiqian, *Zhang'an zashuo* 章安雜說 (Shanghai: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1989), pp. 38–44.

57. While Zhao Zhiqian often produced couplets in other line lengths, this is the only published

example known to the author that shows his use of six-character lines. Zhao's calligraphy has been widely published. For publications including numerous examples of couplets and other works written in the Northern Wei style of standard script, see *Shohin* 書品 25 (February 1952): pls. 1–15, with accompanying articles, pp. 2–8, 47–52; *Shohin* 55 (December 1955): pls. 1–20, with accompanying articles, pp. 2–8, 47–57; Kakui Hiroshi 角井博, “Chō Shiken to sono shūhen” 趙之謙とその週邊, *Museum* 167 (February 1965): figs. on pp. 2–13; *Tō Sekijo, Ka Shoki, Chō Shiken* 鄧石如, 何紹基, 趙之謙 (Tokyo: Chūō-koronsha, 1976), pls. 123–54; *Min Shin no sho* 明清の書 (Osaka: Nihon Shogei-in, 1976), pp. 90–109; *Bei'an shengmo: Fashu*; Qian Juntao, comp., *Zhao Zhiqian: Zhongguo shufa dacheng* 中國書法大成, 8 vols. (Beijing: Zhongguo shudian, 1990), 8:347–73; and *Zhongguo shufa* 中國書法 (1990.2): pp. 21–33, with following articles by Sha Menghai 沙孟海 and Qian Juntao, pp. 34–38.

## 12. XU SANGENG

58. Wuyun 務韻, the individual to whom Xu Sangeng dedicated this couplet, is currently unknown.

59. As seen in his signature and two of his seals on this couplet, Xiuhai 袖海 was Xu Sangeng's most commonly used alternate name, and Xue-ran sanren 鬻然散人 was one of his many sobriquets. For details about Xu Sangeng's biography and a selection of his seals, see Ma Guoquan 馬國權, “Xu Sangeng he tade zhuanke yishu” 徐三庚和他的篆刻藝術, *Xiling yicon* 西泠藝叢 15 (July 1987): pp. 1–8, inside front cover; Chen Jun 陳軍, “Zhejiangsheng bowuguan cang Xu Sangeng yin xuan” 浙江省博物館藏徐三庚印選, *Mingjia hamu* 名家翰墨 5 (June 1990): pp. 140–49; Weiqin 味琴, “Wanqing dushu yizhi de zhuankejia Xu Sangeng” 晚清獨樹一幟的篆刻家徐三庚, *Shufa* 書法 75 (1990.6): pp. 40–48; and *Xu Sangeng yinpu* 徐三庚印譜 (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian, 1993), especially introduction by Sun Weizu 孫慰祖, pp. 1–5.

60. The stele is also known as the *Tianxi jigong bei* 天璽記功碑 (The Tianxi era record-of-merits stele) or the *Sanduan bei* 三斷碑 (Stele in three fragments). The stele was first recorded shortly after its rediscovery in A.D. 1091 and has been widely described and discussed ever since. For references to traditional textual sources, see Yang Dianxun 楊殿珣, comp., *Shike tiba suoyin* 石刻題跋索引 (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1957), pp. 501–2.

For discussions of different surviving rubbings of the text, see Zhang Yansheng 張彥生, *Shanben beitic lu* 善本碑帖錄 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1984), pp. 46–47; and Ma Ziyun 馬子雲 and Shi Anchang 施安昌, *Beitic jiangding*

碑帖鑒定 (Guilin: Guangxi shifan daxue chubanshe, 1993), p. 101. For an extant Song dynasty rubbing of the stele, see *Song ta Tianfa shenchai bei* 宋搨天發神識碑 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1986); and *Zhongguo meishu quanji: Shufa zhuante bian 2, Wei Jin Nanbeichao* 中國美術全集: 書法篆刻編 2, 魏晉南北朝 (Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1986), no. 16, pp. 23–27, and text on pp. 10–11. For three later rubbings of the stele, see Zhang Yansheng, *Shanben beitie lu*, pl. 7; *Shoseki meihin sōkan* 書蹟名品叢刊, vol. 12 (Tokyo: Nigensha, 1969); and *An Siyuan cang shanben beitie xuan* 安思遠藏善本碑帖選 (*The Chunluage tie and Rare Rubbings from The Collection of Robert H. Ellsworth*) (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1996), pp. 83–87.

61. For a range of works by Xu Sangeng in the style of the *Tianfa shenchai bei*, see *Lidai mingren yinglian moji* 歷代名人楹聯墨跡 (Shanghai: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1991), pp. 339–40 (two undated couplets); *Guotai meishuguan xuanji* 國泰美術館選集 (Taipei: Guotai meishuguan, 1977), 1:75 (couplet, 1872); *Min Shin no sho* 明清の書 (Osaka: Nihon Shogei-in, 1976), p. 113 (couplet, 1876), p. 114 (folding fan, ninety-character excerpt from stele, 1878), p. 116 (couplet, 1881), p. 118 (couplet, undated), p. 119 (couplet, 1886); and *Shohin* 書品 235 (September 1959): p. 1 (four-scroll set, 110-character excerpt from stele, 1887). The last three works in particular are very close to the Freer Gallery's couplet in style and execution, and two of these works (undated couplet and 1887 four-scroll set) appear to bear exactly the same two seals after Xu's signature.

Though no other artist has made such extensive use of the *Tianfa shenchai bei*, several important nineteenth-century calligraphers, such as Ruan Yuan (1764–1849; cat. no. 3) and Wu Xizai (1799–1870; cat. no. 10), also copied the stele or occasionally worked in its style. For a hanging scroll by Ruan Yuan, see *Shufa congkan* 書法叢刊 14 (June 1988): pp. 85–86. For three works by Wu Xizai, see Shen Fu, Glenn Lowry, and Ann Yonemura, *From Concept to Context: Approaches to Asian and Islamic Calligraphy* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1986), pp. 60–61 (frontispiece to a handscroll, 1843); *Shohin* 235 (September, 1959): pp. 50–61, pls. 1–12 (album, 124-character excerpt from the stele, 1863); and *Ming Qing yinglian moji xuan* 明清楹聯墨跡選 (Changchun: Changchun shi guji shudian), p. 62 (couplet).

For examples of Xu Sangeng's calligraphy in other forms of seal script, see *Min Shin no sho*, p. 114 (folding fan, 1879); Tamamura Seizan 玉村霽山, comp., *Chūgoku shodōshi nempyō* 中國書道史年表 (Tokyo: Nigensha, 1998), p. 99, upper right (couplet, 1882); *Shufa* 75 (1990.6): pp. 16–31, 41 (58-leaf album, 1883); and *Shoseki meihin sōkan*, vol. 153 (Tokyo: Nigensha, 1970) (108-leaf album, 1887).

### 13. WU CHANGSHUO

62. The Stone Drum texts have engendered considerable scholarly debate over the last two centuries, particularly regarding the proper formation, pronunciation, and meaning of some characters. Moreover, many characters on the ten stones have been either partially or entirely lost because of damage and erosion. In writing the first nine lines of the third poem, Wu Changshuo omitted some unreadable characters (indicated in the following transcription by the symbol □) and transposed another (in brackets, with ○ indicating its proper position), so that a smooth reading of the original text is no longer possible (田車孔安·鑿勒□□·□□既○·左駟[簡]旒旒·右駟驪驪·避以隰于遂。避□止陟·宮車其□·秀弓待射). Wu omitted the same characters in most of his published renderings of the text, but this is the only scroll known to the author where a character has been transposed.

63. Excerpt of translation by Gilbert L. Mattos, *The Stone Drums of Ch'in*, Monumenta Serica Monograph Series, no. 19 (Nettetal: Steyler Verlag, 1988), p. 220; see also his thorough discussion of the text and its difficulties, pp. 199–219.

64. Wu Changshuo's original given name was Junqing 俊卿, as seen on one of his seals, but he is generally known by his courtesy name Changshuo (also read Changshi) 昌碩, as used here in his signature, or rendered as Cangshi 倉碩, as on another of his seals. Laofou 老缶, also part of his signature, is one of Wu's many cognomens.

As a seal carver, Wu Changshuo owed a particular debt to his predecessors Deng Shiru (1743–1805; cat. no. 9) and Chen Hongshou (1768–1822; cat. no. 7). He was also greatly influenced by the works of older contemporaries, such as Wu Xizai (1799–1870; cat. no. 10) and Xu Sangeng (1826–1890; cat. no. 12). For discussions and examples of his seal carving, see Xu Liping 許禮平, comp., *Sida mingjia kunyiyin: Wu Changshuo, Qi Baishi, Xu Beihong, Fu Baoshi* 四大名家款印: 吳昌碩, 齊白石, 徐悲鴻, 傅抱石 (Hong Kong: Hanmoxuan youxian gongsi, 1990), pp. 1–105 (separate pagination); Yang Lu'an 楊魯安, "Wu Changshuo shuyin zhi dao bieshan" 吳昌碩書印之道別探, *Shufa* 書法 99 (1994.6): pp. 41–43; Liu Jiang 劉江, *Wu Changshuo zhuanke ji qi daofa* 吳昌碩篆刻及其刀法 (Hangzhou: Xiling yinshe, 1997); and Ma Guoquan 馬國權, *Jindai yinren zhuan* 近代印人傳 (Shanghai: Shanghai shuhua chubanshe, 1998), pp. 5–9.

65. For a brief discussion in English of Wu Changshuo's life and art (mainly painting), see Ju-hsi Chou's article in Claudia Brown and Ju-hsi Chou, *Transcending Turmoil: Painting at the Close of China's Empire, 1796–1911* ([Phoenix]:

Phoenix Art Museum, 1992), pp. 272–75, 357 n. 110 (the note lists a number of biographies and chronologies of Wu Changshuo's life). In addition to the sources cited there, see Ding Xiyuan 丁義元, "Wu Changshuo nianbiao" 吳昌碩年表, *Mingjia hannuo* 名家翰墨 38 (March 1993): pp. 56–89 (Chinese), pp. E9–11 (English); and Lin Shuzhong 林樹中, *Wu Changshuo nianpu* 吳昌碩年譜 (Shanghai: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1994).

66. Although scholars disagree as to their age, purpose, and exact place of discovery, the Stone Drums bear the earliest inscriptions on stone unearthed in China to date. They are traditionally assigned to the period of King Xuan 宣王 (reigned 827–782 B.C.) of the Zhou dynasty. But modern scholars generally agree that the stones were probably carved two or three centuries later for one of the dukes of the state of Qin 秦 to commemorate a significant event. Discovered about the seventh century A.D. during the Tang dynasty, they have attracted considerable interest among scholars and calligraphers ever since.

67. For an introduction to Wu Changshuo's stone-drum calligraphy, see Fushimi Chūkei 伏見冲敬, "Go Shōseki rin sekikobun" 吳昌碩臨石鼓文, *Shohin* 書品 101 (July 1959): pp. 2–8. Wu Changshuo often used stone-drum script to render other texts, especially couplets, but his most important experiments quoted passages or entire poems from the original ten stones (poem three was evidently among his favorites). For examples in the hanging scroll format dating from 1909 to 1926, see *Shohin* 101 (July 1959): p. 5 (1909), p. 8 (horizontal scroll, poem three, 1919), p. 59 (two scrolls, 1922 and 1926), and pp. 60–61 (set of four scrolls, including poem three, 1913); *Shufa congkan* 書法叢刊 1 (1981): p. 114 (poem three, 1915); National Museum of History, Taipei, comp., *Wu Changshuo shuhua ji* 吳昌碩書畫集 (Taipei: Lishi bowuguan, 1985), p. 63 (1916); *Lidai huajia shufa xuan* 歷代畫家書法選 (Shijiazhuang: Hebei meishu chubanshe, 1983), p. 91 (1917); *Min Shin no sho* 明清の書 (Osaka: Nihon Shogei-in, 1976), pp. 177–78 (set of four scrolls, including poem three, 1918), 172 (1919); Takashima Kikujirō 高島菊次郎, *Kaiankyō rakujū* 槐安居樂事 (Tokyo: Kyūryūdō, 1964), pl. 285 (1920); *Zhongguo shufa tongjian* 中國書法通鑒 ([Zhengzhou]: Henan meishu chubanshe, 1988), p. 925 (1920); *Shufa* 書法 73 (1990.4): inside back cover (1921); Akai Kiyomi 赤井清美, *Chūgoku shodōshi* 中國書道史 (Tokyo: Tōkyōdō, 1979), p. 818 (excerpt from poem three, 1926); and *Chūgoku gosenmen no hihōten: Chūgoku Tenshiin-shū bunbutsuten* 中國五千年の秘宝展: 中國天津市文物展 (Kobe: Supōtsu Kyōiku Kōsha, 1985), p. 75, pl. 70 (undated).



#### 14. QI BAISHI

68. For discussions and examples of Qi Baishi's seal carving, see Xu Liping 許禮平, comp., *Sida mingjia kuanyin: Wu Changshuo, Qi Baishi, Xu Beihong, Fu Baoshi* 四大名家款印: 吳昌碩, 齊白石, 徐悲鴻, 傅抱石 (Hong Kong: Hammo-xuan youxian gongsi, 1990), pp. 1–167 (separate pagination); *Qi Baishi huihua jingpin ji* 齊白石繪畫精品集 (Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1990), pp. 151–60; Ma Guoquan 馬國權, “Baishi laoren de zhuanke” 白石老人的篆刻, *Mingjia hanmo* 名家翰墨 14 (March 1991): pp. 84–91; *Qi Baishi yinying* 齊白石印影 (Beijing: Rongbaozhai, 1991); Cui Junhao 崔峻豪, *Qi Baishi zhuanke yishu de yanjiu* 齊白石篆刻藝術的研究 (Taipei: Wenshizhe chubanshe, 1992); *Baishi yizhu* 白石遺朱 (Shanghai: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1994); and National Museum of History, Taipei, comp., *Qi Baishi huaji* 齊白石畫集 (Taipei: Lishi bowuguan, 1996), pp. 40–48, 182–88.

Qi Baishi often discoursed on seal carving. See Yang Guangtai 楊廣泰, ed., *Qi Baishi tan zhuanke yishu* 齊白石談篆刻藝術 (Beijing: Shumu wenxian chubanshe, 1989). In addition, a dictionary of variant forms appearing in Qi's seal carving has been compiled. See Dai Shanqing 戴山青, *Qi Baishi zhuanke zidian* 齊白石篆刻字典 (Beijing: Guangbo xueyuan chubanshe, 1992).

69. The Tang dynasty poet Li Qi 李頎 (active early to mid-eighth century) composed this quatrain, titled “Ji Han Peng” 寄韓騰 (Sent to Han Peng), for an otherwise unidentified friend serving as the magistrate of a county near Mount Guye in Shanxi Province. For an annotated text of the poem, see Liu Baohe 劉寶和, *Li Qi shi pingzhu* 李頎詩評注 (Taiyuan: Shanxi jiaoyu chubanshe, 1990), p. 321.

70. Xiangqi 相綺 was the studio name of the painter and calligrapher Wang Anyun 王闓運 (1832–1916), with whom Qi Baishi studied poetry and literature starting in 1899.

Because of a fortune-teller's warning that his seventy-fifth year would be inauspicious, Qi Baishi altered the way he recorded his age in 1937, making himself two years older. One must bear this in mind when calculating Qi's actual age in Western terms or when dating a late work by his age, as here.

71. Chronologies of Qi Baishi's life can be found in many widely available sources, including Hu Shi 胡適, *Qi Baishi nianpu* 齊白石年譜 (Taipei: Hu Shi jinianguan, 1972); *Yishujia* 藝術家 106 (March 1984): pp. 162–64; Qi Baishi, *Baishi laoren zishu* 白石老人自述 (Changsha: Yuelu shushe, 1986), pp. 203–27; *Likeness and Unlikeness: Selected Paintings of Qi Baishi* (Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 1989) (no pagination; English); *Zhongguo meishuguan*, comp.,

*Qi Baishi huihua jingpin xuan* 齊白石繪畫精品選 (Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1991), pp. 21–34; *Mingjia hanmo* 14 (March 1991): pp. 108–15 (Chinese and English); and National Museum of History, Taipei, *Qi Baishi huaji*, pp. 206–11.

72. For discussions of Qi Baishi's calligraphy, see Ma Dawei (Ma Tat Wai) 馬達為, “Baishi laoren de shufa yishu” 白石老人的書法藝術, *Mingjia hanmo* 14 (March 1991): pp. 76–83 (Chinese and English, with several examples of seal script); and Mei Mosheng 梅墨生, “Zongheng waidao gui tianzhen: Qi Baishi de shufa zhuanke yishu lueping” 縱橫歪倒貴天真: 齊白石的書法篆刻藝術略評, *Zhongguo shufa* 中國書法 33 (1993.1): pp. 12–15.

For other examples of Qi Baishi's calligraphy, including works in seal script, see *Qi Baishi huihua jingpin ji*, pp. 142–50; *Zhongguo shufa* 33 (1993.1): pp. 3–10; National Museum of History, Taipei, *Qi Baishi huaji*, pp. 178–81, 198–203.

Two works that are extremely close to this album leaf in style and execution can be found in *Zhongguo shufa* 28 (1991.4): inside front cover (horizontal format, quatrain, age 90 [1950]); and Sotheby's, Hong Kong, *Fine Modern and Contemporary Chinese Paintings*, sale cat., October 31, 1999, p. 78, sale HK0153, lot 199 (hanging scroll, Tang quatrain praised by Xianqi [Wang Anyun], age 88 [1948]).

#### 15. LI KERAN

73. On the seals used by Li Keran, see *Mingjia hanmo* 名家翰墨 4 (May 1990): pp. 82–87, pp. 132–35, and *Li Keran shuhua quanji: Shufa* 李可染書畫全集: 書法 (Tianjin: Tianjin renmin meishu chubanshe, 1991), pp. 177–82. The seal reading *Ruzi niu* 孺子牛 (rectangle intaglio) was carved by Wang Yong 王鏞 (born 1948); the seals *Robed figure under a tree* (square intaglio) and *Keran* 可染 (square intaglio) were carved by Qi Baishi (1864–1957; cat. no. 14); the seal reading *Li* 李 (circle relief) was carved by Qian Shoutie 錢瘦鐵 (1896–1967); and the seal reading *Baifa xuetong* 白髮學童 (square intaglio), “White-haired schoolboy,” was specially carved by Tang Yun 唐雲 (1910–1993) when Li Keran turned seventy.

74. Line one refers to the renowned Tang dynasty calligrapher and Buddhist monk Huaisu 懷素 (A.D. 725–ca. 799). Because he could not afford to buy paper, he practiced calligraphy by writing on banana leaves. Line two alludes to the Song dynasty poet and archetypal scholar-recluse Lin Bu 林逋 (A.D. ca. 965–1026), who was especially fond of plum blossoms.

75. Three writers in particular have recently published major books and articles on Li Keran's life and career.

Sun Meilan 孫美蘭, *Li Keran yanjiu* 李可染研究 ([Nanjing]: Jiangsu meishu chubanshe, 1991), pp. 1–62 (essay-style biography), 134–49 (chronology), 323–27 (abbreviated biography). Various versions of Sun's chronology have also appeared in print. See especially *Duoyun* 朵雲 7 (November 1984): pp. 123–26; *Zhongguo dangdai meishujia: Li Keran* 中國當代美術家: 李可染 (*Contemporary Chinese Artists: The Life and Works of Li Keran*) (Chengdu: Sichuan meishu chubanshe, 1989) (no pagination; Chinese and English); and *Li Keran lun yishu* 李可染論藝術 (Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1990), pp. 221–29.

Li Song 李松, *Li Keran zhuanlue* 李可染傳略 (*The Life of Li Keran*) (Tianjin: Renmin meishu chubanshe, [1991]) (no pagination; essay-style biography and chronology in Chinese and English). The chronology appeared previously in *Mingjia hanmo* 4 (May 1990): pp. 152–55.

Wan Qingli 萬青力, “Li Keran zhuan” 李可染傳, *Mingjia hanmo* 26 (March 1992): pp. 98–126 (Chinese), 12–27 (English); and *Li Keran pingzhuan* 李可染評傳 (Taipei: Xiongshitushu, 1995), pp. 68–127 (essay-style biography), 240–47 (chronology).

Other chronologies of Li Keran's life have appeared in various publications, such as “Li Keran nianbiao” 李可染年表, in *Li Keran zhongguohua ji* 李可染中國畫集 (*Li Keran: The Painter Who Surpassed the Current Century*) (Hong Kong: Tai Yip Co., 1990), pp. xvii–xix (Chinese), 18–20 (English); “Li Keran nianbiao” 李可染年表, in *Li Keran shuhua ji* 李可染書畫集 (*Collected Calligraphic Works and Painting by Li Keran*) (Taipei: Guoli lishi bowuguan, 1994), pp. 158–59 (Chinese), 160–63 (English); and Li Jia 李家, “Li Keran nianbiao” 李可染年表, *Mingjia hanmo* 43 (August 1995): pp. 94–99.

76. Li Keran created at least five other versions of this couplet, four of which, along with the Freer Gallery's version, were done about the time of his birthday on March 26. For three undedicated versions bearing almost identical postscripts and the same late March 1985 date as the Freer Gallery's couplet, see *Mingjia hanmo* 4 (May 1990): p. 131 (four of the same seals); *Li Keran shuhua quanji: Shufa*, p. 86, pl. 73 (all five of the same seals); and *Dongfang ji bai: Li Keran yishuzhan zuopin ji* 東方既白: 李可染藝術展作品集 ([Nanning]: Guangxi meishu chubanshe, 1999), p. 216 (all five of the same seals). The version of the couplet in *Dongfang ji bai* also appears in a photograph of Li Keran's studio published in *Yishujia* 藝術家 160 (September 1988): p. 117. Two other published versions of the couplet are dated later. For one dedicated to Xiao Jun 蕭軍 in June 1985, see *Modern Chinese Paintings: The Reyes Collection in the Ashmolean Museum*, Oxford (Oxford: Ashmolean Museum, 1996), p. 42, no. 47. For one dedicated to Zuo Haiping 左海平 in March 1989, see *China Guardian* 中國嘉德, Beijing, *Chinese Modern*

and *Contemporary Paintings and Calligraphy* 中國近現代書畫, sale cat., October 27, 1998, lot 539.

77. For studies on Li Keran's calligraphy, see Li Song 李松, "Chen, xiong, yi, dang: Li Keran de shufa yishu" 沉雄逸宕: 李可染的書法藝術, *Mingjia hannuo* 4 (May 1990): pp. 118-31; and Shen Peng 沈鵬, "Tongxiang 'shenyun' zhi lu" 通向神韻之路 ("The Quest for the Spiritual Charm—Li Keran's Art of Calligraphy"), *Li Keran shulhua quanji: Shufa* (no pagination; Chinese and English).

#### 16. LU YANSHAO

78. The two lines of this couplet are taken from a regulated poem in seven-character lines by the Tang dynasty poet Han Hong 韓翃 (active A.D. 750s-780s), titled "Tong ti Xianyouguan" 同題仙遊觀 (Inscribed for the Temple of the Wandering Immortal). For a complete text of the poem, see *Quan Tang shi* 全唐詩 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1985), pp. 2751-52. Several variant readings for these two lines appear in different sources; Lu Yanshao has used variant readings for two characters in the second line that are not recorded in the *Quan Tang shi*.

79. For biographical information about Lu Yanshao, see Wan Qingli 萬青力, "Lu Yanshao zhuanlue" 陸儼少傳略, *Duoyun* 朵雲 2 (November 1981): pp. 99-106, 262; Lu Yanshao, "Lu Yanshao zixu" 陸儼少自叙, *Duoyun* 7 (November 1984): pp. 54-72, 105-110 (autobiography); and Lu Yanshao, "Lu Yanshao ziding nianpu" 陸儼少自訂年譜, *Mingjia hannuo* 名家翰墨 17 (June 1991): pp. 136-47 (self-compiled chronology; Chinese with English summary).

80. On Lu Yanshao's calligraphy, see Zhou Kai 周凱, "Lu Yanshao shufa yishu chutan" 陸儼少書法藝術初探, *Zhongguo shufa* 中國書法 51 (1996.1): pp. 6-12, 39, back cover (couplet in running script); and Xu Yixuan 徐一軒, "Lu Yanshao shufa yishu qiantan" 陸儼少書法藝術淺談, *Shufa* 書法 118 (January 1998): pp. 4-6, 9-10, inside front cover. For another published example of a couplet in running script, see *Zhongguo shufa* 64 (1998.2): p. 41.

#### 17. WU YUN

81. Pingzhai 平齋 was Wu Yun's sobriquet, as seen in his signature and one of his seals. Yu-xiang 芋香, the family friend to whom he dedicated this couplet, is currently unknown.

82. See the obituary by Wu Yun's friend, the calligrapher Yu Yue 俞越 (1821-1907), in Miao Quansun 繆荃孫 (1844-1919), comp., *Xu beizhuan ji* 續碑傳集 (n.p.: Jiang Chu bianyi shuju, 1910), 38:24b-27a.

83. Wu Yun was so proud of his collection of these rubbings that he called his studio Erhai lanting zhai 二百蘭亭齋 (Studio of the two

hundred [versions of the preface to gathering at the] Orchid Pavilion). For an example of the *Lanting ji xu* (Preface to gathering at the Orchid Pavilion) written by Wu Yun and an accompanying version written by Wu Xizai (1799-1870; cat. no. 10) and dedicated to Wu Yun, see Naitō Torajirō 內藤虎次郎 (1866-1934), *Shin-chō shogafu* 清朝書畫譜 (Osaka: Hakubundo, 1916), pl. 34 (no pagination).

84. For Wu Yun's illustrated catalogue of the ancient bronzes in his collection, see his *Erhai lantingzhai shoucang jinshi ji* 二百蘭亭齋收藏金石記 (Gui'an: Jixuezhai, 1856); and *Liangleixuan yiqi tusi* 兩壘軒彝器圖釋 (n.p., [1874?]), which contains a portrait of Wu Yun dated 1873, an introduction by Wu Yun himself (dated 1872), and both a title page and introduction (dated 1873) by Wu's friend Yu Yue 俞越 (1821-1907), all in their own calligraphy.

For impressions of the ancient bronze seals in Wu Yun's collection, see his *Erhai lantingzhai gongtongyin an* 二百蘭亭齋古銅印存 (1876; reprint, Hangzhou: Xihang yinshu, 1983), which contains a title page by his friend He Shaoji (1799-1873; cat. no. 4) and an introduction by Wu in his own running-script calligraphy (dated 1876).

85. For example, the Freer Gallery owns an ancient bronze vessel of the *gü* 簋 type that was once in Wu Yun's collection (F1909.259). Wu Yun's collector seals appear on two well-known paintings, both handscrolls: Li Shan 李山 (active mid-twelfth-early thirteenth century), *Wind and Snow in the Fir Pines*, Jin dynasty, late twelfth century (F1961.34); and Wen Zhengming 文徵明 (1470-1559), *Boating under Red Cliff*, Ming dynasty, 1552 (F1939.1).

86. For other examples of couplets by Wu Yun written in running script, see *Lidai mingren yinglian moji* 歷代名人楹聯墨跡 (Shanghai: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1991), pp. 426-27 (two examples, one dated 1863); *Teichin Tōhō Bijutsukan: Kaikan kinen tentan mokkoku* 定靜東方美術館: 開館記念展覽目錄 (Tokyo: Teichin Tōhō Bijutsukan, 1970), p. 54; *Min Shin no sho* 明清の書 (Osaka: Nihon Shogei-in, 1976), 2:81-84 (four examples, one dated 1870); Akai Kiyomi 赤井清美, *Chūgoku shodōshi* 中國書道史 (Tokyo: Tōkyōdō, 1979), p. 795 (two examples); and Tamamura Seizan 玉村霽山, comp., *Chūgoku shodōshi nenpyō* 中國書道史年表 (Tokyo: Nigensha, 1998), p. 95.

#### 18. CHEN JIEQI

87. Shouqing 壽卿 was Chen Jieqi's courtesy name, while Beihuaxuan 碑畫軒 (Pavilion of Stele-Rubbings and Paintings) was one of his studio names. He was also widely known by another of his studio names, Fuzhai 匱齋 (Studio of the [ancient bronze] Fu-Vessel).

As with several of his other chosen appellations, these names reflect Chen's passion for collecting.

88. The text on this small scroll consists of three poems by Su Shi 蘇軾 (A.D. 1037-1101), one of the greatest poets of the Song dynasty (A.D. 960-1279). The first poem recommends following a policy of peace through strength, the second poem defines the pleasures of retirement, and the third poem warns against confusing the name of a thing with its reality.

The first poem (not translated) is titled "Song Fan Chuncui shou Qingzhou" 送范純符守慶州 (Seeing off Fan Chuncui who is going to serve as magistrate of Qingzhou). See Liang Tongshu 梁同書 (1723-1815), comp., *Su Wenzhonggong shi bianzhu jicheng* 蘇文忠公詩編註集成 (Hangzhou: Yunshantang, 1819), vol. 11, 26:17a-18a. Su Shi wrote this poem in the capital in late A.D. 1085 or early A.D. 1086 for Fan Chuncui (A.D. 1046-1117), who had recently been appointed magistrate of Qingzhou (modern Qingyang, Gansu Province), a border post his father, the great minister Fan Zhongyan 范仲淹 (A.D. 989-1052), had held with distinction. When the Xixia 西夏 state in Central Asia made incursions into Song territory in A.D. 1040, Fan Zhongyan built and restored fortifications in the prefecture, improved military training and preparedness, and adopted a defensive strategy designed to thwart enemy expansion rather than confront it directly, a policy that minimized bloodshed and resulted in a treaty between the two hostile states in A.D. 1044. The thrust of the poem is that the son should follow the policies of his father and thereby keep the frontier at peace.

The second poem is titled "Ti Li Boshi Yuanming dongli tu" 題李伯時《淵明東籬圖》 (Inscribed on Li Gonglin's painting *Tao Yuanming at the Eastern Hedge*). See *Dongpo xunji* 東坡續集, 1:37a-b, in *Su Dongpo quanji* 蘇東坡全集 (reprint of a Song dynasty woodblock edition belonging to Duanfang [1861-1911; cat. no. 19], privately published, 1908-9). One of the most important figure painters of the Song dynasty, Li Gonglin 李公麟 (or Boshi 伯時, A.D. ca. 1049-ca. 1106) was a slightly younger contemporary of Su Shi. Ostensibly written on one of Li's paintings, this poem concerns the archetypal poet-recluse Tao Qian 陶潛 (or Yuanming 淵明, A.D. 365-427), who left office after some three months and repaired to the poverty of his rustic home near Mount Lu 廬山 in Jiangxi Province, where he raised chrysanthemums and enjoyed drinking wine. Much of the imagery and diction in the poem derive directly from well-known poems by Tao and stories written about him.

The third poem (not translated) is titled "Gu Zhou Maoshu xiansheng Lianqi" 故周茂

叔先生濂溪 (On the late Mister Zhou Maoshu of Lian Creek). See Liang Tongshu, *Su Hui-zhonggong shi bianzhu jicheng*, vol. 12, 31:17b–18a. Su Shi wrote this poem about a deceased older contemporary, the great Song dynasty neo-Confucian philosopher Zhou Dunyi 周敦頤 (or Maoshu 茂叔, A.D. 1017–1073), who settled late in life by a small secluded creek at the foot of Mount Lu. The poem comments wryly on the punning confusion between the name of the creek, Lianqi 濂溪 (Waterfall Creek), the innate character of Zhou Dunyi, which was *lian* 廉 (pure, refined), and the fact that Zhou later took the name Lianqi as his sobriquet.

89. This work is one of four matching scrolls, each written in standard script by a different calligrapher and all dedicated to the same individual, Wu Huiyuan 吳惠元 (mid-nineteenth century), who is referred to by his courtesy name, Linyu 霖字. Wu Huiyuan passed the national examinations (*jinsshi*) in 1844. The other three calligraphers contributing scrolls to the set were Wang Zubei 王祖培 (*jinsshi* 1840), Gong Zikai 龔自閔 (*jinsshi* 1844), and Taishou 台壽 (unidentified) (F1998.139–.141, respectively). Wu probably provided all four calligraphers with identical sheets of special paper, since each sheet was demarcated in advance with the same outer rectangle in blue and columns outlined in red. None of the scrolls is dated.

90. For some very brief biographical information about Chen Jieqi in English, see Arthur Hummel, ed., *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1943), p. 521. For sources in Chinese, see Min Erchang 閔爾昌, comp., *Beizhuanji bu* 碑傳集補 (n.p.: Sinological Institute of Yenching University, 1923), 9:4b–5b; and Chen Jikui 陳繼揆, introduction (1988) to *Qinqian wenzi zhi yu* 秦前文字之語, by Chen Jieqi (Ji'nan: Qi Lu shushe, 1991), pp. 1–6 (separate pagination).

91. Several objects from Chen Jieqi's former collection now belong to the Freer Gallery of Art, including two related bronze vessels of the *zun* 尊 and *you* 酉 types dating to the late eleventh or early twelfth century B.C. (F1911.40 and F1960.20, respectively). In addition, a much-damaged hanging-scroll painting in the Freer Gallery's collection bears a substantial 1874 colophon by Chen Jieqi written in his personal style of mixed script: *Zhongli Qian in Search of the Dao*, traditionally attributed to Jing Hao (late ninth to mid-tenth century), Yuan or Ming dynasty (?), 14th–15th century (?) (F1909.168). This colophon reveals that Chen was a student of the prominent Beijing collector Li Enqing 李思慶 (*jinsshi* 1833, died after 1864) and was related by marriage to another important collector, Li Zuoxian 李佐賢 (1807–

1876), both of whom had been protégés of his father. Li Zuoxian was the current owner of the scroll.

92. Chen Jieqi's book *Qinqian wenzi zhi yu* is a collection of his correspondence about ancient epigraphy with five other scholar-collectors, including Pan Zuyin 潘祖蔭 (1830–1890), pp. 1–64, and Wu Yin (1811–1883; cat. no. 17), pp. 211–72. A large group of Chen's correspondence with collectors was also reproduced in facsimile in 1919. See *Fuzhai chidu* 匱齋尺牘, 10 vols. (1919; reprint, [Yangzhou?]: Jiangsu Guangling keyinshe, [1993]).

The one book of seal impressions published by Chen Jieqi during his lifetime was the *Fuzhai guyin ji* 匱齋古印集 (1881; reprint, [Beijing: Zhongguo shudian, 1990]). Reviewed in 1847 by two of Chen's friends, the calligrapher He Shaoji (1799–1873; cat. no. 4) and the collector Wu Shifen 吳式芬 (1796–1856), whose son was married to Chen's daughter, this illustrated book was not actually published until 1881 in Shanghai, just two years before Chen's death. In 1921 a more complete set of impressions of the several thousand ancient seals in Chen's collection was published. See *Shizhong shanfang yinjin* 十鍾山房印掣, 3 vols. (1921; reprint, Taipei: Wenshizhe chubanshe, 1971). Chen Jieqi and Wu Shifen also jointly produced an annotated compendium of rubbings of the ancient clay seal impressions in their collections, which was posthumously published in 1904. See *Fengni kaolie* 封泥考略 (1904; reprint, Beijing: Zhongguo shudian, 1990).

93. For several typical examples of Chen Jieqi's calligraphy, all couplets and mainly written in his personal "mixed style," see *Jinshijia zhencang shuhua ji* 金石家珍藏書畫集, 2 vols. (Taipei: Datong shuju, 1977), reprint of *Jinshijia shuhua ji* 金石家書畫集 (Shanghai: Xiling yinshe, 1938), 1. pl. 286–87 (two examples, 1880); *Shodō zenshū* 24: *Chūgoku* 14, *Shin* 2 書道全集 24: 中國 14, 清 2 (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1961), pls. 60–61 (two examples); *Lezaixnan cang lian* 樂在軒藏聯 (*Lok Tsai Hsien Collection of Calligraphy in Couplets*) (Hong Kong: Art Gallery, Institute of Chinese Studies, Chinese University of Hong Kong, 1972), pls. 71–72 (two examples, one dated 1878); *Min Shin no sho* 明清の書 (Osaka: Nihon Shogei-in, 1976), pp. 86–89 (four examples, one dated 1874 and one dated 1876); Akai Kiyomi 赤井清美, *Chūgoku shodōshi* 中國書道史 (Tokyo: Tokyōdō, 1979), p. 796 (two examples); and Tamamura Seizan 玉村霽山, comp., *Chūgoku shodōshi nenpyō* 中國書道史年表, (Tokyo: Nigensha, 1998), p. 95 (one example).

#### 19. DUANFANG

94. Duanfang's studio name, Taozhai 陶齋, preserves his family's original Chinese surname, Tao 陶. The identity of Bingnan 炳南, to whom

Duanfang dedicated this couplet, is uncertain at this time.

95. For a brief biography of Duanfang in English, see the article by Hiromu Momose in *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period*, ed. Arthur W. Hummel (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1943), pp. 780–82. In addition to the Chinese sources listed there, see Cai Guanluo 蔡冠洛, *Qingdai qibai mingren zhuan* 清代七百名人傳 (Beijing: Zhongguo shudian, 1984), pp. 1521–22.

96. For Duanfang and his collections, see Thomas Lawton, *A Time of Transition: Two Collectors of Chinese Art*, The Franklin D. Murphy Lectures 12 ([Lawrence, Kansas]: Spencer Museum of Art, University of Kansas, 1991), pp. 5–63; and Seiichi Taki, "Art Treasures in the Collection of Mr. Tuan-fang, Ex-Viceroy of Chih-li," *Kokka* 國華 250 (March 1911): pp. 259–66. For his collection of stone rubbings, Nishikawa Nei (or Yasushi) 西川寧, "Tosai zo ishi no takuhon" 甸齋藏石の拓本, *Shohin* 書品 179 (March 1967): pp. 2–22, and *Shohin*, 185 (October 1967): pp. 2–37 (article is in two issues).

After Duanfang's death, his various collections came on the public market, and a number of important objects found their way abroad. Several were acquired by Charles Lang Freer for his collection. These include ancient jades and bronzes, such as a ceremonial jade axe blade (F1919.13), a lidded bronze vessel of the *you* 酉 type from the early Zhou dynasty (F1909.258), and a bronze sarcophagus-like Tang dynasty Buddhist ash urn from the eighth century (F1915.106). Freer also purchased several important early paintings: *Clearing Autumn Skies over Mountains and Valleys*, attributed to Guo Xi (A.D. ca. 1001–1090), Northern Song dynasty, early twelfth century (F1916.538); *Ten-thousand Miles of the Yangzi River*, traditionally attributed to Juran (active mid-tenth century), Southern Song dynasty, early thirteenth century (F1911.168); *Goddess of the Luo River*, traditionally attributed to Gu Kaizhi (A.D. ca. 345–406), Southern Song dynasty, mid-twelfth to mid-thirteenth century (F1914.53); *Scenery along the River of Shu*, traditionally attributed to Li Gonglin (A.D. ca. 1049–ca. 1106), Southern Song dynasty, early to mid-thirteenth century (F1916.539); and *Collating Texts (Man Cleaning his Ear)*, traditionally attributed to Wang Qihan (active mid-tenth century), Ming dynasty, fifteenth century (F1911.486). Later, the Freer Gallery acquired other objects that were formerly in the Duanfang collection, including two jade *bi*-disk battle-axes from the Shang dynasty (F1968.48 and F1970.39).

97. For three other examples of couplets by Duanfang, all in running script, see *Shufa congan* 書法叢刊 44 (1995.4): p. 96; *Ming Qing*

*yinglian moji xuan* 明清楹聯墨跡選 (Changchun: Changchun shi guji shudian, 1983), p. 146; and *Lidai mingren yinglian moji* 歷代名人楹聯墨跡 (Shanghai: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1991), p. 484 (dated 1910). For Duanfang's letters, also generally in running script, see *Jindai mingren shouzha zhenji* 近代名人手札真蹟, 9 vols. (Hong Kong: Chinese University of Hong Kong, Institute of Chinese Studies, 1987), 7:2981-3222; and *Qingdai mingren shuzha* 清代名人書札, 2 vols. (Beijing: Beijing shifan daxue chubanshe, 1987), 1:1610-27.

## 20. HUANG BINHONG

98. All three of the artist seals on this couplet were carved by Huang Binhong himself.

99. The name Guo Youdao may refer to the Han dynasty scholar Guo Tai 郭太, or 泰 (A.D. 128-169), who possessed an unusual ability to assess the character of others. Wang Yuanzhang was the Yuan dynasty painter Wang Mian 王冕 (1287-1359), who specialized in painting branches of blossoming plum flowers.

100. Huang Binhong dedicated this couplet to the younger calligrapher and seal carver Feng Kanghou 馮康侯 (1901-1983).

101. For an overview in English of Huang's life and art, see Jason C. Kuo, *Innovation within Tradition: The Painting of Huang Pin-hung* ([Hong Kong]: Hanart Gallery in association with Williams College Museum of Art, 1989). For Chinese biographies and chronologies of Huang Binhong, see Qiu Zhuchang 裘柱常, *Huang Binhong zhuanji nianpu hebian* 黃賓虹傳記年譜合編 (Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1985); Zhao Zhijun 趙志鈞, *Huajia Huang Binhong nianpu* 畫家黃賓虹年譜 (Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1990); Zhao Zhijun, "Huang Binhong nianbiao" 黃賓虹年表, in *Huang Binhong jingpin ji* 黃賓虹精品集 (Masterpieces of Painting by Huang Binhong) (Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1991), pp. 266-71; Ma Dawei (Ma Tat Wai) 馬達為, "Huang Binhong nianbiao" 黃賓虹年表, *Mingjia hannuo* 名家翰墨 15 (April 1991): pp. 118-25 (Chinese), 126-27 (English); and "Shengping jilue" 生平紀略, in *Huang Binhong huaji* 黃賓虹畫集, comp. Zhejiang Museum of Art (Shanghai: Shanghai shuhua chubanshe, 1992) (no pagination).

102. For Huang Binhong's calligraphy and his theoretical writings on the subject, see Zhang Weisheng 張偉生, "Yi shu ru hua, yi hua ru shu: Huang Binhong shufa yishu qianxi" 以書入畫, 以畫入書: 黃賓虹書法藝術淺析, *Shufa* 書法 128 (1999.5): pp. 43-45; Sang Huoyao 桑火堯, "Huang Binhong shufa yishu yanjiu" 黃賓虹書法藝術研究, *Shufa yishu* 書法藝術 48 (1992.2): pp. 99-114; and Wang Xinling 王新

陵, "Huang Binhong xiansheng lun shu" 黃賓虹先生論書, *Shufa yanjiu* 書法研究 10 (1984.4): pp. 69-74.

103. For other couplets by Huang Binhong written in seal script, see *Zhongguo shufa* 中國書法 64 (1998.2): p. 43 (undated); *Guotai meishuguan xuanji* 國泰美術館選集, vol. 1 (Taipei: Guotai meishuguan, 1977), p. 78 (undated); *Guotai meishuguan xuanji*, vol. 4 (Taipei: Guotai meishuguan, 1978), p. 66 (dated 1944); *Shupu* 書譜 40 (June 1981): p. 17 (dated 1945); *Zhongguo wenwu shijie* 中國文物世界 (*Art of China*) 23 (August 1989): p. 83 (dated 1946); *Zhongguo shufa* 60 (1997.4): p. 72 (dated 1949); Zhao Zhijun, *Huajia Huang Binhong nianpu*, p. 246 (dated 1949); *Shufa* 128 (1999.5): p. 9 (dated 1951); *Zhongguo shufa tongjian* 中國書法通鑒 ([Zhengzhou]: Henan meishu chubanshe, 1988), p. 952 (dated 1953); and *Zhongguo shufa* 58 (1997.2): p. 37 (dated 1953).

# Chronology

<b>SHANG DYNASTY</b>	circa 1600–1050 B.C.
<b>ZHOU DYNASTY</b>	1050–221 B.C.
Western Zhou	1050–771 B.C.
Eastern Zhou	770–221 B.C.
Spring and Autumn Period	722–481 B.C.
Warring States Period	480–221 B.C.
<b>QIN DYNASTY</b>	221–206 B.C.
<b>HAN DYNASTY</b>	206 B.C.–A.D. 220
Western Han	206 B.C.–A.D. 8
Eastern Han	A.D. 25–220
<b>THREE KINGDOMS PERIOD</b>	220–280
Wei	220–265
Shu	221–263
Wu	222–280
<b>WESTERN JIN DYNASTY</b>	265–317
<b>NORTHERN AND SOUTHERN DYNASTIES</b>	317–589
Southern Dynasties	
Eastern Jin	317–420
Liu Song	420–479
Southern Qi	479–502
Liang	502–557
Chen	557–589
Northern Dynasties	
Northern Wei	386–535
Eastern Wei	535–550
Western Wei	535–557
Northern Qi	550–577
Northern Zhou	557–581
<b>SUI DYNASTY</b>	581–618
<b>TANG DYNASTY</b>	618–907
<b>FIVE DYNASTIES</b>	907–960
<b>SONG DYNASTY</b>	960–1279
Northern Song	960–1127
Southern Song	1127–1279
<b>YUAN DYNASTY</b>	1279–1368
<b>MING DYNASTY</b>	1368–1644
<b>QING DYNASTY</b>	1644–1911
<b>REPUBLIC</b>	1912–
<b>PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC</b>	1949–

# Glossary

- Ancheng  
An Qi (ca. 1683–ca. 1744)  
An Siyuan
- Bada Shanren (1626–1705)  
*bagong*  
Baoshan  
Bao Shichen (1775–1855)  
Bei'an  
*beibei nautic*  
*bei Li nan Lu*  
*beixuepai*  
*beixue zhongxing*
- Cao Quan bei*  
*caoshu*  
Chan  
Changsha  
Chengkan  
Chen Guanjun (*jinshi* 1808)  
Chen Hongshou (1768–1822)  
Chen Jieqi (1813–1884)  
Chen Yuzhong (1762–1806)  
Ch'i Pai-shih (*see* Qi Baishi)  
Chongqing  
Chongwen shuyuan  
Chōsen Sōtokufu  
Chu Deyi (1871–1942)  
*Chunhuage tie*
- Dali  
Dantu  
Daoxian  
Daozhou  
Deng Shiru (1743–1805)  
Ding Jing (1695–1765)  
Dong Qichang (1555–1636)  
Duanfang (1861–1911)  
Dunhuang
- Eight Masters of Xiling (*see* Xiling bajia)  
Emperor Taizong, Song dynasty  
(reigned A.D. 976–97)  
Emperor Taizong, Tang dynasty  
(reigned A.D. 627–49)  
*Erbai lanting zhai*  
Erligang
- 安城  
安岐  
安思遠
- 八大山人  
拔貢  
寶山  
包世臣  
悲盦  
北碑南帖  
北李南陸  
碑學派  
碑學中興
- 曹全碑  
草書  
禪  
長沙  
呈坎  
陳官俊  
陳鴻壽  
陳介祺  
陳豫鐘
- 重慶  
崇文書院  
朝鮮總督府  
褚德彝  
淳化閣帖
- 大理  
丹徒  
道縣  
道州  
鄧石如  
丁敬  
董其昌  
端方  
敦煌
- 宋太宗  
唐太宗  
二百蘭亭齋  
二里岡
- Feng Chaoran (1882–1954)  
Fengxin  
Fu Baoshi (1904–1965)  
Fung Ping Shan Museum  
Fu Pao-shih (*see* Fu Baoshi)
- Guangzhou  
Gui'an  
Gujing jingshe  
Gu Yanwu (1613–1682)
- Hangzhou  
He Linghan (1772–1840)  
He Shaoji (1799–1873)  
Huai'an  
Huaining  
Huang Binhong (1865–1955)  
Huang Xiang  
(active mid- to late 3rd century)  
Huizhou
- Jiading  
Jiang Ren (1743–1795)  
Jiaqing emperor (reigned 1796–1820)  
Jia Sidao (1213–1276)  
Jietaisi  
Ji'nan  
Jinhua  
Jin Nong (1687–1763)  
*jinshi*  
*jinshixue*  
Jōdoshin sect  
*juan*  
*jue*  
*juwen*
- Kangxi emperor (reigned 1661–1722)  
Kantōchō Hakubutsukan  
Kuaiji  
*Kuaiji shike*  
Kuhara Fusanosuke
- Lanting ji xu*  
Li Keran (1907–1989)  
Lin'an  
Li Ruiqing (1867–1920)  
Li Si (died 208 B.C.)  
Liulichang  
Liu Tongxun (1700–1773)
- 馮超然  
奉新  
傅抱石  
馮平山博物館
- 廣州  
歸安  
詰經精舍  
顧炎武
- 杭州  
何凌漢  
何紹基  
淮安  
淮寧  
黃賓虹
- 皇象  
徽州
- 嘉定  
蔣仁  
嘉慶  
賈似道  
戒臺寺  
濟南  
金華  
金農  
進士  
金石學  
淨土真宗  
卷  
爵  
舉人
- 康熙  
關東廳博物館  
會稽  
會稽石刻  
久原房之助
- 蘭亭集序  
李可染  
臨安  
李瑞清  
李斯  
琉璃廠  
劉統勳

Liu Yong (1720–1805)	劉墉	Wcibei	魏碑
Liyang	溧陽	Weixian	濰縣
Lüshun	旅順	Wu Ch'ang-shih ( <i>see</i> Wu Changshuo)	
Lu Yanshao (1909–1993)	陸儼少	Wu Changshuo (1844–1927)	吳昌碩
		Wuhan	武漢
<i>Maogong ding</i>	毛公鼎	Wuhu	蕪湖
Mi Fu (A.D. 1051–1107)	米芾	Wu Hufan (1893–1970)	吳湖帆
Mount Rokkō	六甲山	Wuxi	無錫
		Wu Xizai (1799–1870)	吳熙載
Nancheng	南城	Wu Yun (1811–1883)	吳雲
Nanjing	南京		
Nirakusō	二樂莊	Xiangtan	湘潭
Nishi Honganji	西本願寺	<i>xiaozhuan</i>	小篆
		Xi Gang (1746–1803)	奚岡
Onshi Hakubutsukan	恩賜博物館	Xiling bajia (Eight Masters of Xiling)	西泠八家
Ōtani Kōzui (1876–1948)	大谷光瑞	<i>Xiling yinshu</i>	西泠印舍
		Xiushui	秀水
Pan Zuyin (1830–1890)	潘祖蔭	Xu Beihong (1895–1961)	徐悲鴻
Poyang	鄱陽	Xu Sangeng (1826–1890)	徐三庚
		Xuzhou	徐州
Qianlong emperor (reigned 1735–96)	乾隆		
Qiantang	錢唐	Yang Pu (late 19th–early 20th century)	楊溥
Qiao Min (A.D. 129–185)	譙敏	Yang Renkai (born 1915)	楊仁愷
Qi Baishi (1864–1957)	齊白石	Yangzhou	揚州
Qi Gong	啓功	Yan Zhenqing (A.D. 709–785)	顏真卿
Qingli	慶歷	<i>Yijing</i>	易經
		<i>yinsheng</i>	陰生
Renhe	仁和	Yixing	宜興
Ruan Yuan (1764–1849)	阮元	Yizheng	儀徵
Ryukoku University	龍谷大學	Yu Yue (1821–1907)	俞越
<i>sanjue</i>	三絕	Zaoqiang	棗強
Shangyu	上虞	Zhangwu village	鄞吳村
Shaoxing	紹興	Zhang Zhi (A.D. 196–219)	張芝
<i>shengyuan</i>	生員	Zhao Mengfu (1254–1322)	趙孟頫
Shexian	歙縣	Zhao Zhichen (1781–1852)	趙之琛
<i>Shigu wen</i>	石鼓文	Zhao Zhiqian (1829–1884)	趙之謙
<i>shihua</i>	石畫	Zhenjiang	鎮江
Shihuangdi (reigned 221–210 B.C.)	始皇帝	<i>Zhepai</i>	浙派
<i>Si sangongshan bei</i>	祀三公山碑	Zhong You (A.D. 151–230)	鍾繇
Sun Chengze (1593–1675)	孫承澤	<i>Zhou Yi</i>	周易
Su Shi (A.D. 1037–1101)	蘇軾	Zhucheng	諸城
Suzhou	蘇州		
Taizhou	泰州		
<i>Tianfa sheuchan bei</i>	天發神識碑		
Tianjin	天津		
<i>tiexuepai</i>	帖學派		
Tōyōkan	東洋館		
Wang Fangyu (1913–1997)	王方宇		
Wang Wenzhi (1730–1802)	王文治		
Wang Xianzhi (A.D. 344–388)	王獻之		
Wang Xizhi (A.D. ca. 303–ca. 361)	王羲之		
Wang Zhu (died A.D. 990)	王著		
<i>Wanpai</i>	皖派		





## Contributors

**STEPHEN D. ALLEE**, research specialist in Chinese literature and history, holds a master's degree in Chinese language and literature from the University of Washington and attended the Beijing Languages Institute and Nanjing University. He has provided research and translations for numerous exhibitions, scholarly articles, and publications.

**JOSEPH CHANG**, associate curator of Chinese art, is a specialist in Chinese painting and calligraphy. Dr. Chang wrote his doctoral dissertation in 1995 at the University of Kansas on a seventeenth-century album, *Large Emerging from Small*, in the National Palace Museum, Taipei. He was the researcher for the Metropolitan Museum of Art exhibition *Splendors of Imperial China: Treasures from the National Palace Museum, Taipei* (1996) and the Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art exhibition *The Century of Tung Ch'i-Ch'ang* (1992).

**THOMAS LAWTON**, received his doctorate in Chinese art history from Harvard University in 1970. Before retiring in March 1998, he served as curator of Chinese art, assistant director, and director of the Freer Gallery of Art; he was founding director of the Arthur M. Sackler Gallery. His publications include *Chinese Figure Painting* (1973); *Chinese Art of the Warring States Period* (1982); and, coauthored with Linda Merrill, *Freer: A Legacy of Art* (1993).





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